HARVARD THEOLOGICAL STUDIES
IX

AN ANSWER TO JOHN ROBINSON OF LEYDEN BY A PURITAN FRIEND

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED
FROM A MANUSCRIPT OF A.D. 1609

EDITED BY
CHAMPLIN BURRAGE
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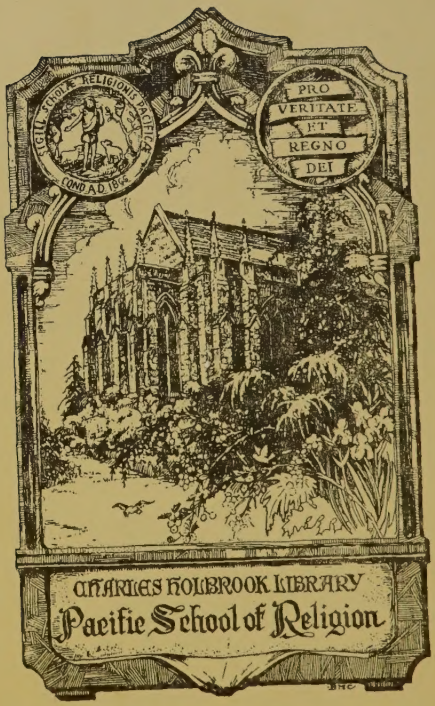
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HARVARD THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

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EDITED FOR THE

FACULTY OF DIVINITY

IN

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

BY

GEORGE F. MOORE, JAMES H. ROPES,
KIRSOPP LAKE

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DEDICATED

TO THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW, NORWICH

AS A CONTRIBUTION TO

THE HISTORY OF ITS NOTABLE PAST

PREFACE

§ 1. THE MANUSCRIPT

THE manuscript of which the complete text is here published for the first time is catalogued as MS. Jones 30, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where it has lain for over two hundred years. The book is a neat little volume, perfectly preserved, containing one hundred and fifty-eight written pages, and is bound in limp vellum delicately ornamented with gilt. From the author's "Advertisement" we learn that this is not the original manuscript, but a contemporary copy (containing one additional main section), evidently made for the author before the Answer was sent to John Robinson at Leyden, and not long after the original composition. The transcript is anonymous and undated. The copyist wrote an unusually fine, clear hand for the period, and executed his work with the greatest care. Toward the end the handwriting is much finer than at the beginning. The author's prefatory note, which he styles "An Advertisement of the Answerer servinge for Introduction," is in his own hand. He has also carefully indicated in the margin which sections are quoted from Robinson, and which are his answer, has added one or two references, and corrected the spelling of a few words.

The author gave the transcript no special title — a circumstance which suggests that it was not intended for publication — but on the back of the binding he wrote a few words, now partly illegible. They are probably:

AN ANSW[ER]
TO MR. ROB-
INSON MS.

Inside the back cover the author also wrote the following instructions, presumably for the messenger to whom he entrusted the manuscript, "This booke is to bee sent eyther to Readinge immediately [i.e., direct] or by way of London by Mr. Thurlbie meanes who dwells at the Black Boy in Southwark."

Other contemporary marginal notes, referring to several publications by or concerning the Brownists, were also made in the transcript by a third person; and, apparently at a somewhat later period, a reader has changed the spelling of one word. With these exceptions the document seems to be in the same condition today as at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

§ 2. ITS HISTORY

The occasion for writing the Answer is explained in the author's "Advertisement." After the removal of John Robinson and his congregation from Amsterdam to Leyden in 1609, but probably not long after that event, the writer, a former friend of Robinson's, appears to have come to Amsterdam and there, in conversation with Matthew Slade, to have "bewayled" Robinson's "fallinge of from the Churche of England," expressing at the same time his desire to "speake with him." Slade gave notice of this to Robinson, who wrote to his old friend, and "propounded certayne reasons for his seperation." The friend rejoined with a cordial letter, in which he "desyred him to frame his argument logically" (i.e. syllogistically),[1] and in particular to discuss "his seperation from that churche or parishe of St. Andrewes in Norwich of which he had lately beene a minister." "Hereupon he wrote his objections," and in reply the anonymous friend framed the present Answer, in which the text of much of Robinson's letter was incorporated. The note quoted above, written on the inside of the back cover of the volume, doubtless means that this copy was at some time sent to Reading, perhaps to some old Cambridge friend there beneficed whose approval the author desired.

[1] It is noteworthy that the published writings of John Robinson are almost entirely lacking in forms of expression which would suggest that he had had a university education, and this circumstance has raised a doubt whether he could have been a Cambridge graduate. Our manuscript plainly proves that he understood, and could use, syllogistic argument, while the following citation from Thomas Helwys, *A Short Declaration of the Mistery of Iniquity*, 1612, no doubt explains why Robinson did not generally employ scholastic methods of reasoning in his books: "It were to be wished, and you have often bene required, to lay away your schoole tearmes in the causes of God, whereby you do for the most part but hide the truth, and blind the eies of the simple" (page 138).

Whoever the person at Reading was to whom the manuscript was first sent (doubtless from Holland), it may well have come eventually into the possession of Samuel Fell (1584–1649),[1] dean of Christ Church and Lady Margaret professor at Oxford, who was rector of Sunningwell,[2] near Abingdon, Berks, after Sept. 21, 1625, and resided there from 1647 till his death in 1649. At his death the manuscript would have passed into the library of his son, Dr. John Fell (1625–1686), who was born at Sunningwell. Dr. John Fell likewise became dean of Christ Church, and finally bishop of Oxford. It is known that at Dr. Fell's death some of his books became the property of his nephew Henry Jones, likewise rector of Sunningwell, and our manuscript was probably one of these. At the close of the seventeenth century the library of Mr. Jones was one of the notable English private collections. Among his manuscripts this transcript was catalogued as No. 52 in " Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in Unum Collecti," Oxford, 1697, with the title, " An Answer to Robinson the Brownists Arguments." In 1707 Mr. Jones died, and many of his manuscripts, including this one (MS. Jones 30), came to the Bodleian Library.

§ 3. THE AUTHOR

Unfortunately, as stated above, the manuscript is anonymous, and the author has so concealed his identity, possibly for his own protection, that it is doubtful whether he can ever be identified with certainty. The handwriting of the " Advertisement " may, however, offer a clue. From the work itself we can gather a few facts concerning him. We learn that he was a friend of Robinson, and that he was a logician able to turn about as he pleased his opponent's rather loosely framed syllogisms, chiding him at times that a university man should reason so poorly. We may fairly infer that our author was an Oxford or Cambridge graduate. He also manifests such an intimate knowledge of St. Andrew's, Norwich, as would indicate that he either was a native of that city, or at least had lived there.

The author had evidently been in active service as a minister

[1] See the Dictionary of National Biography for the lives of Samuel Fell, John Fell, and Henry Jones. [2] Sunningwell is about thirty miles from Reading.

in the Church of England, was of Puritan tendencies, and, like Robinson, had been compelled to stop preaching because he had not fully conformed in ritualistic practices:

"For you & I & others, because we could not obserue all other thinges required, were put from preaching as from a specyall parte of our ministerye, therebye to compell vs to the other thinges, which surelie they would not haue done, yf our ministerye had stood in those thinges onelye wherein you place it."[1]

We do not know when the author was suspended, or whether he afterward submitted and subscribed, but from one or two passages we may infer that, even if he did so about 1606, he was ultimately obliged to leave England; that he first came to Amsterdam[2] not long after Robinson had departed for Leyden; that later he returned to England for a brief visit;[3] and that when he wrote the Answer, he was once more in Holland and probably in Amsterdam.[4] This comprises virtually all the information concerning the author's life to be gleaned from the manuscript. In considering the names of some early opponents of the Brownists the following passage may be cited from John Robinson's "Ivstification of Separation," published in 1610:

The next thing I observe is how vauntingly you [Richard Bernard] bring, as chalengers into the lists, Mr. Gyshop, Mr. [William] Bradshaw, D. Allison, and other vn-named Ministers, all which you say are vnanswered by vs. And no marveil, for sundry of their writings never came to our hands. . . . Yet are theyr books and . . . shalbe answered in particular, as they come to our hands and are thought worthy answering; though in truth it were no hard thing for our adversaries to oppresse us with the multitude of books, considering both how few, and how feeble, we are in comparison (besides other outward difficultyes). (Page 8.)

This shows that before Robinson published his book, various writings had been sent to the Brownist leaders by their opponents, some of which did not reach their intended destination. Among these lost controversial documents may have been the original of our transcript.

Among other opponents of the Brownists Joseph Hall, Henry Jacob, Robert Parker, and William Ames deserve mention. A good idea of the author's argumentative style, of his ability as a controversialist, and of his friendly attitude toward Robinson, may be gathered from the tract here printed.

[1] Page 55. [2] Page 2. [3] Page 3. [4] Page 3.

§ 4. DATE

Though the manuscript is undated as well as anonymous, we can be almost certain that the Answer was composed, and the transcript made, in 1609. (1) The Answer was written not long after Robinson had removed from Amsterdam to Leyden.[1] (2) The latest notes in the margins of the transcript appear to have been added shortly after John Smyth, the Se-baptist, was ejected from his congregation in Amsterdam.[2] Now Robinson arrived in Leyden about April 21 (O. S.), or May 1 (N. S.), 1609, and Smyth was cast out of his church some time before March 12, 1610 (N. S.).

§ 5. HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

1. The manuscript definitely states that before his separation, John Robinson lived in Norwich, not in the neighbourhood of Norwich, nor in the neighbourhood of Great Yarmouth, as has often been affirmed. From it and other data we can also determine the period of Robinson's residence at Norwich as chiefly lying between 1604 and 1607.

2. It shows that for some time Robinson was a minister of the Church of England, and furnishes us with what appears to be the only extant reference to the particular church (St. Andrew's, Norwich) in which he officiated before he became a separatist.

3. It tells us that at least two of Robinson's children were baptized in Norwich, in the church of the parish in which his house was situated, but that he did not live in St. Andrew's parish, and never was a member of St. Andrew's, though "sometimes" a minister there.

4. It provides us with several extended citations from an otherwise unknown controversial writing of Robinson's, citations which probably formed the major part of his argument.

5. It gives the only extant evidence in Robinson's own words for a statement published by John Bastwick in 1646[3] to the

[1] The author's "Advertisement," page 2; see also page 79, where Robinson's congregation is spoken of as being at Leyden.

[2] This is indicated by a marginal note; see page 77.

[3] In *The utter Routing of the whole Army of all the Independents & Sectaries*, London, 1646 ("The Antiloquie"), sig. f2.

effect that Robinson's withdrawal from the Church of England was not entirely voluntary, but in some measure enforced.

6. It gives the only direct evidence still in existence that Robinson was acquainted with, and made use of, syllogistic, or scholastic, methods of reasoning, such as prevailed among university men in his time.

7. It throws an interesting light on the controversy which took place in 1618 between Robinson and John Yates, minister since 1616 of St. Andrew's Church, Norwich, and shows how naturally such a controversy arose. It suggests, too, that Mr. Yates was only carrying on a written discussion with Robinson concerning laymen's use of " prophecy," in which William Euring acted as messenger; and that the expression Mr. Yates's " Monopolie" was not the title of a printed book by Yates, as Dr. Dexter seems to have thought, or even the title of Yates's manuscript, but rather a name which Robinson himself applied to the circumscribed outlook of his opponent's argument.

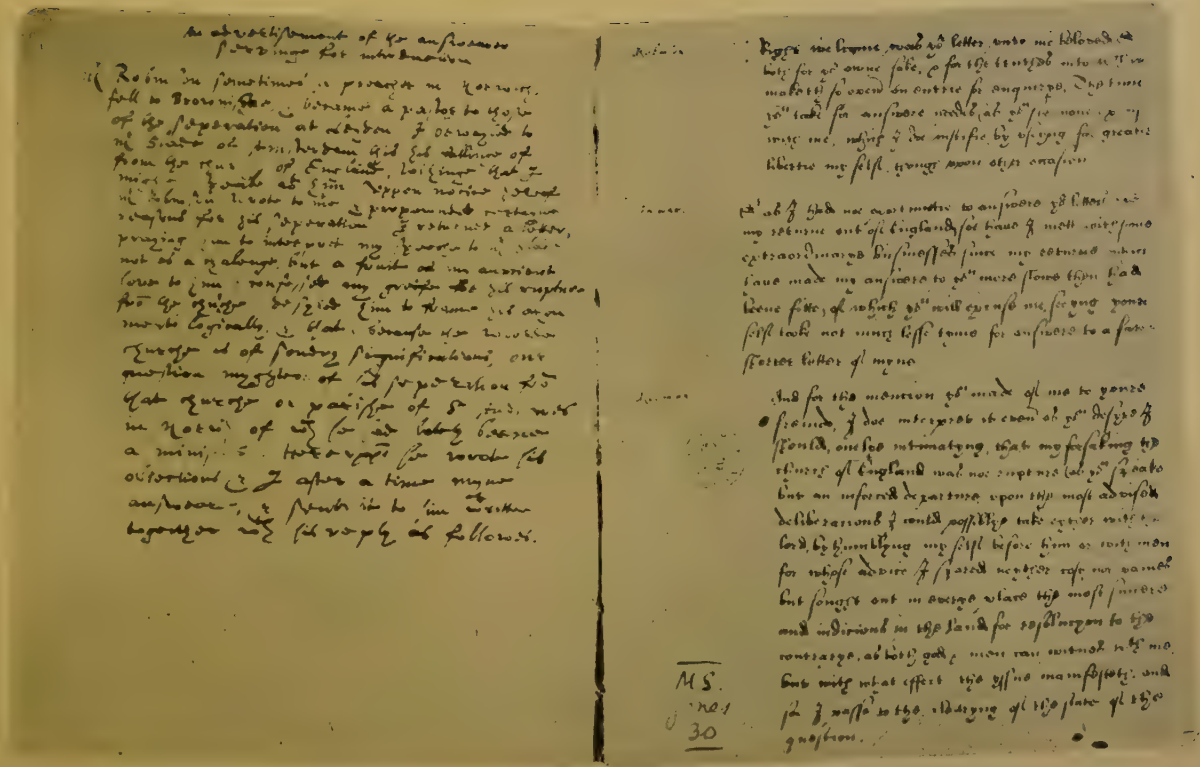
8. It presents an illustration of a type of Congregationalism practised within the Church of England before the time of Robert Browne and Robert Harrison. Such churches as St. Peter Mancroft and St. Andrew's, Norwich, purchased the patronage and so obtained the right to elect their own ministers. Browne probably derived many of his ideas on Congregational church polity from study and criticism of these two churches during his sojourn in Norwich. In Browne's time John More was the incumbent of St. Andrew's and it is to him that Browne undoubtedly refers in " A Trve and Short Declaration," where he mentions Mr. More, a Puritan minister.

A fuller discussion of these and other details of Puritan history upon which this Answer to Robinson bears will be found in the present editor's pamphlet, *New Facts concerning John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers*, Oxford, at the University Press, 1910. For permission to use in the present volume material already printed in the former publication and for the use of the plate appearing as frontispiece the editor would make grateful acknowledgment to Mr. Humphrey Milford of the Oxford University Press.

9. Since the publication of *New Facts concerning John Robinson*, Mr. F. W. Haldenstein, of Christ Church, Oxford, has brought to light the following interesting entry in the accounts of the Great Hospital, Norwich, for 1601/2:

Item to Mr John Robynson for preachinge iiii sermons xxx^{s} & to Mr Mayor, Shreve & certain other persons of the saide Bishops guifte x^{s} in all ——— xl^{s}

This helps us to trace the early life of John Robinson of Leyden a little more definitely. It would now appear that in 1601/2 he was either settled in Norwich, or had begun to visit that city, as a Hospital and perhaps City preacher. Robinson was, as we know, ordained in or before the year 1602. His marriage took place on February 15, 1603/4, and his work in connection with St. Andrew's, Norwich, began probably about that time.



THE FIRST TWO PAGES OF THE MANUSCRIPT. SIZE OF ORIGINAL, 11 × 7¼ IN.

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NOTE

THE main text of the manuscript was written by the copyist, who uses the secretarial hand of the period, distinguishing by Roman script marginal headings, quotations from the Bible, and occasionally other words. In the printed text this use of Roman script is not indicated.

The quotations from Robinson, as well as certain parts of sentences in the Answer, are underlined in the manuscript, and all these are here printed in italics.

The "Advertisement of the Answerer" prefixed to the Answer is in the handwriting of the author. He has also made some notes in the margin of the Answer, which in the printed text are indicated by an asterisk (*).

A third person has also made notes in the margin. These are here distinguished by square brackets ([ ]).

In some instances it is not possible to tell with certainty whether a note is due to the author or to the third person. These are designated by two asterisks (**).

With the exception of a few small corrections, the only additions to the manuscript were made in the margin.

It has not been attempted to present a diplomatically exact edition of the manuscript in all particulars. The spelling of the original has been preserved, but, in the interest of modern readers, the punctuation and use of capitals have been modified, and the abbreviations generally extended.

An advertisement of the answerer servinge for introduction

Mr Robinson sometimes a preacher in Norwich fell to Brownisme & became a pastor to those of the seperation at Leyden. I bewayled to Mr Slade of Amsterdam this his fallinge of from the Churche of England, wishinge that I mighte speake with him. Vppon notice hereof Mr Robinson wrote to me & propounded certayne reasons for his seperation. I returned a letter praying him to interpret my speeche to Mr Slade, not as a chalenge but a fruit of my auncient love to him, confessed my greife for his rupture from the churche, desyred him to frame his argument logically, & that (because the woorde churche is of sondry significations) one question myghte bee of his seperation from that churche or parishe of St Andrewes in Norwich of which he had lately beene a minister. Herevppon he wrote his obiections, & I (after a time) myne answeare, & sent it to him written [?] togeather with his reply as followes.

ROBINSON

RIGHT WELCOME *was your letter vnto me (beloved Sir) both for your owne sake & for the truthes into which it maketh so open an entrie for enquirye. The time you tooke for answere needes (as you see) none excuse with me, which I doe instifie, by vseyng far greater libertie my self, though vpon other occasion./*

ANSWER

Sir, as I had noe oportunitie to answere your letters till my returne out of England, soe haue I mett with some extraordinarye businesses since my returne, which haue made my answere to you more slowe then had beene fitte, of which you will excuse me, seeyng youre self tooke not much lesse tyme for answere to a farre shorter letter of myne./

ROBINSON

And for the mencion you made of me to youre freinde, I doe interpret it even as you desyre I should, onelye intimatyng, that my forsaking the church of England was noe rupture (as you speake) but an inforced departure, vpon the most advised deliberacions I could possiblye take, eyther with the Lord, by humblyng my self before him, or with men, for whose advice I spared neyther cost nor paines, but sought out in everye place the most sincere and iudicious in the land for resolucyon to the contrarye, as both God & men can witnes with me, but with what effect the yssue manifesteth, and soe I passe to the clearyng of the state of the question./

ANSWER

Whether you were dryven out by compulsion or by conceyte therof shall appeare vpon the tryall of youre motyues, yet might your departure be called a rupture, seeyng you brake those bondes of socyetye with which the church sought to haue conteyned you; even he that is dryven thereto maie make a rupture. That you sought conference I haue heard, but that you sought resolucyon to the contrarye of that you followe, noe man can witnes, for whoe knowes your hearte? And yf your spirit had beene soe humble as might haue become your age, learning, or anye grace you haue receyued, the iudgment of those most *sincere and iudicious men* would haue restreyned you, for whoe are you, that God should be thought to open vnto you such a pointe

hidden from *soe sincere and iudicyous men* as you consulted and then cast of?/

And what though you bestowed manie prayers vpon your self after your hearte had admitted this passion, partiallitye, and preiudice, might it not be iust with God to answere you with your owne delusions, seyng you durst call into questyon the truth of his worship and presence in those Churches in which you had eyther beheld the beautie thereof or dissembled?/

When we settle not in a manifest truthe but praye still for resolucyons, the Lord maie iustlye disgrace vs and oure prayers wherein we seeme to beseech him to change himself./

Oure prayers sometymes are answered, as was Ahimaas' sute to Joab, with what we would haue, and not with what is most convenient. Otherwise, of those that are devout, none should erre in iudgment, for all praye for direction./

ROBINSON *The sundrie acceptions of the word Church by you laid downe I acknowledg for good and to be found in the scriptures, but not them alone, for besides these by you named, the churche is sometymes taken indefinitelye for manye, or all particuler Churches, because manye or all are but one in nature, forme, definition, essentiall parties, & propertyes, though not in existence,* for soe they are as manye Churches, as they are particuler assemblyes ecclesiasticall, & spirituall societyes, and in this sence Paule speaketh 1. Cor. 12. 28, in which report also in another place he sayth, There is one fayth & one baptisme, Eph. 4. 3, and this acception of the word Church wilbe of good vse for the question in hand./*

*The proper forme gives existence as well as essence. Zabarella: De Constitutione Individui, cap. 5.[1]

ANSWER Your acception of the word Church allso indefinitelie, or rather collectiuelye, for all or manie Churches as beyng of one nature, &c., I willinglye admitte, but your proofe thereof out of the 1. Cor. 12. 28 I refuse, for yf by Church there is meante all particuler Churches, then all particuler Churches must be capeable of the

[1] Jacobus Zabarella was an Italian philosopher, born at Padua September 5, 1533, died October, 1589. He published various works, among which may be noted: *De rebus naturalibus libri XXX*, 1594; *Logica*, 1597; *De anima*, 1606. An account of his life and works may be found in Gerolamo Boccardo, *Nuova enciclopedia Italiana* (6th ed.), Vol. XXIII, Torino, 1888.

endowmentes there mencioned as ordeyned to the Church there spoken of, namelye Apostles, evangelists, & doers of miracles, seeinge these are there said to be ordeyned of God to the Churche there spoken of./

The instance you propound for the specyall subiect of the questyon in hand I agree to, which is St Andrewes in Norwich, whereof indeed I was sometymes a minister (as you saie), but neuer anie member, having my house standyng (which is the infallible determinacion of members) within another parish, and my children baptized there, which was and is one parte of the confusion of that Church from which I am seperated./ ROBINSON

If you were a minister of St Andrewes parish, it is as much as I said. Yf you were not a member thereof, you might haue beene. Habitacyon in a parish is not an infallible argument of a member of the congregacyon symplye, but rather a probable and ordinarye one, and in the peaceable state of Churches a convenient waie. Nowe yf this, that beyng minister in one parish you make your self a member of another, was confusion, you that made this fault ought to be blamed for it./ ANSWER

Onelye I must craue leaue to denie that which you take for graunted, wherein indeed a greate parte of the questyon lyeth, & that is, that St Andrewes Church is in it self a distinct & entyer Church or ecclesiasticall pollicye (which all true Churches are), but it is on the contrarye a member of a diocesan, provinceall, & nationall church, and that in the verye frame and constitution of it vnder the diocesan, provinceall, and nationall bishops & other officers, which I am sure you will not denie. Wherevpon, I doe ground my first argument thus. ROBINSON

I said not that St Andrewes Church is in it self an entyer church or ecclesiasticall pollicye, but that it is a distincte and particuler Church, &c., and he that confoundes distinct & (in your sense) entyer & makes a particuler Church and ecclesiasticall pollicye to be all one, forgettes to distinguish, & vnderstands not himself./ And when you add that I will not denie St Andrewes to be a member of a diocesan Church, in that it is vnder a diocesan Bishop, you doe with one breath challeng me to haue taken for ANSWER

granted that the contrarye whereof you saie I will not denye. And thus I come to the question, which is this/.
St Andrewes parish in Norwich is a trewe church of Christe, with which a Christian man maie lawfullye comunicate in the worship of God./ Against which assertion of myne you thus dispute./

ROBINSON Argument 1. *Noe man maie comunicate with, or be a member of, a false Church; but everye member of St Andrewes comunicates with, and is a member of, a false Churche./*
Ergo, noe man maie be a member of St Andrewes Church or comunicate therewith in the worship of God./
The first proposition is vndenyable./

ANSWER The first proposition is not simplye true, and therefore not vndenyable, for you make it all one to comunicate with, and to be a member of, a Church, (as your disiunctiue, or, doth manifest), which is absurd and vntrue, in as much as not everye comunicating doth make one to be a member of the Church. An heathen man maie communicate with the Church in hearyng of [1. Cor. 14. 24.] the word preached and yet is not therebye a member of the Church./
Secondlye, when you saie one maie not comunicate with a false church, it is not simplie true, although some comunion with a false Church is vnlawfull, yet not everye comunion therewith. The Apostles and Christians did lawfullye comunicate in some thinges with the Jewish Sinogogue, even after it became a false Church reiectyng the Messiah, as in circumcision, purification, absteyning from blood, & strangled, resortyng to the Temple, &c., Act. 21. 24; 16. 3. Your first proposition, therefore, so much boasted of, is not sound, but let vs trie the second./

ROBINSON *The second proposicion is thus proued.*
That everye member in St Andrewes Churche is a member of, & comunicates with a nationall, provinceall, and diocesan Church, both mediatelye vnder nationall, provinceall, & diocesan Churche governnours in their correspondent government, and immediatlye in standyng a member of that particuler Church, which is a member of a diocesan, provinceall, & nationall Church, & so, beyng a member of the member, must needes be a member of the whole, cannot be denyed./

Thus you reason, everye member of St Andrewes is a member of a diocesan, or provinceall Churche, therefore of a false Church./ ANSWER

To make good this argument you haue two thinges to proue, first that everye member of St Andrewes is a member of a provinceall Church; secondlye, that a provinceall Church is a false Church./

The first you proue thus. — He that is both mediately and imediatelie vnder a provinceall Churche governoure is a member of a provinceall churche./

But soe is everye member of St Andrewes parishe./

I answere, that in the same sense in which wee doe acknowledge a provinceall Church, in the same he is a member of it; that is, not simplie nor properlie, as the name of Church importeth, one onelye congregacyon combyned in the worship of God. But lett vs heare howe you can proue that a provinceall Church is not a true Church, takeyng leaue first to sett downe in what sense all the Churches of a province maie be called one Churche, that yf you take covert vnder the ambiguitye of phrases, we maie beate you thence./

Manye particuler Churches in a province maye possibl[i]e drawe into one generall assemblie, and then they are made properlie one Church, for that tyme. [One in number]

Secondlie, manie particuler Churches maie send their deputyes & comittyees to one assemblie in their names, and this assemblie out of a province is a provinceall representatiue churche, as Solomon's assemblie, 1. King. 8, is called the congregacyon of all Israell, because it was drawen out of all the tribes to the dedicacyon of the temple./ [One in analogie]

Thirdlye, manie particuler Churches combyning in one forme of holie profession & vnder one manner of regiment, maie be called one in respect of that bond of their vnyon, in such sense as wee call the manye churches of seuerall kingdomes one Churche, as of England, Scotland, Fraunce, or the Belgian Churche, which sense is not farre from that which you graunted and is found in the scripture, as where the Apostle saith, Eph. 3. 21, To whome be praise in the Churche throughe all generations. He meanes, in the Churches which he names in the singuler number, one Churche, for that they were in theire essencyall forme but one, [One in kinde & in consent.]

*Unum dicitur quattuor modis; analogia, genere, specie, numero. Aristotelis caput 12. lib. 5 Metaph.

as your Mr Answoorth sayes that all particuler churches are essentiallie but one.

So then, those Churches which properlye & simplye are not one but manye, maie yett in some sense be one, as all Christians are in some sense one, and all men are in some sense but one man, that is one kinde of men./

Now let vs heare howe you will proue a provinceall Church a false Churche./

ROBINSON *First, that a particuler Church is the onelie true spirituall pollecye (& so neyther diocesan, provinceall, nor nationall Churche), apearethe thus, where there were in the newe Testament in one countrie more then one particuler assemblie, there the scripture speakes of them as of so manie distincte & entyre Churches, Revel. 1. 11; Gal. 1. 2, And so Iudea, which vnder the ould Testament was but all one Church or rather but one parte of a Church haveing one highe preist, one Temple, one altar, one sacrifice, hath in the newe Testament sundrie Churches in it, Actes 9. 31; Gal. 1. 21./*

ANSWER If by pollecye you meane the spirituall bodye or incorporacyon of those which are ioyned in holye profession, then Church and spirituall pollecye is all one. Yf you meane by pollecye the forme of government which this socyetye embraceth, then spirituall pollecye & Church differ, as much as a comonwealth and the lawes of it, which are distinct thinges, yett you confound them./

If, then, you will not mock vs with ambiguitye of wordes, you must by spirituall pollecye (in this argument) meane noe more then is meant by Church, and then your argument is this./

A particuler Church or congregacion is the onelie true Church. Ergo, a provinceall Church (conteyning manie particulers) is a false Church./

Howe proue you that a particuler Church is the onelie true Church? *Because* (forsoothe) *the scripture still speakes of particuler Churches, as to the 7 churches of Asia, not to the Church of Asia, againe the Churches of Galatia, the Churches of Iudea, not one Church as vnder the lawe, but manie Churches.* Excellent. And were these particuler Churches, therefore, true Churches

because theye were particuler Churches ? or because they embraced the true worship of God ? Marke what you saie before you answere me, for yf you assigne this particularitie to be the cause, then noe particuler Church can be a false Churche. Yf you dare not affirme this particularitie of their beyng, or entyrenes of pollecye, to be that which made them to be true Churches, then haue you plaid the sophister in disputyng, a non causa, pro causa, as one should saie: A particuler Christyan is a true member of Christes bodye, therefore a Christyan congregacyon is not a member of Christes bodye./ [Et ab accidenti]

And yf you will argue well from the title of Church conferred vpon everye of the particuler assemblyes, all you can inferre is this: A particuler assemblie alone is properlie one Church, therefore a provinceall Churche consistyng of manie is not properlie one Churche, but after a sorte, which to the poynte of the truthe or falshood of a Churche is neyther too not froo./

Secondlye, your proofes fayle you, for they doe not showe that the name of Church is gyven *onelie* to a particuler congregacyon but that is often gyven thereto, for the name is also vsed in the singuler number for all particuler Churches that shalbe, Eph. 3. 21, and for the vniuersall which consistes of all the particulers, Math. 16. 18./

Whence I thus inverte, Yf all the particuler Churches of all places and tymes are called and are one Church in some respecte, and yf the vniuersall comprehendyng all particulers is yet in some sense called one and is but one, then all the Churches of one nation, province, or dioces maie be, & maie be called, in some sense one nationall, provinceall, & diocesan Church./

Thirdlie, I answere that it cannot be proved that the seauen churches of Asia, or Church of Ierusalem & the like, was one onelie congregacyon (of which we shall hereafter consider further), but it maie be thought that, beyng vnder one government (though devided into seuerall Assemblies), they are called the Churche of such or such a cittie, as nowe in the Dutch churche of Amsterdam, Leyden, and that of Geneva, &c./

Fourthlie, that which you conceite and would insinuate by the waie in the darke tearmes of *spirituall pollecye*, namelie that the particuler Churches had all ecclesiasticall regiment entire within

them selues, and therefore were not diocesan Churches, is vtterlie confuted by the places you alleadge. For were not all the Churches of Iudea vnder the Apostles' Iurisdiction ? and so of Asia, as those of Creta, vnder Titus his superintendencye ? Wherefore, yf subiection to a provinceall governour doe make a provinceall Church (as you haue assumed), then were the Churches of Iudea a provinceall Churche & the Churches of Creta./

So I maie thus invert this argument vpon you. The Churches of Creta (as beyng vnder a provinceall governoure) were one provinceall Church.

But the Churches of Creta were a true Church.

Therefore some provinceall Church is a true Churche./

As touching that you admit [?] of Iudea that it was but one, or piece of one, particular Churche vnder the Lawe, as it is in some sense true, in as much as they all depended on one temple, preist, &c., so is it in some other respect most false, for Judea was devided into sundrye particuler and seuerall sinogogues, which were true particuler Churches, and manye, not one, and of them Christe said, Tell the Church, for this commaundement was gyuen to be vsed when Christ deliuered it, when the sinogogues stood./

Out of which one maie thus dispute, Yf the true visible Churches of the Iewes, beyng manye, were yet in some respecte but one nationall Church, then maie it agree to the nature of a true Churche that manye particuler Churches be in some respect one nationall Churche, but soe it was to the Iewes./ Ergo.

*Your owne Mr Clifton maintaines that in matter & essential forme the Churches vnder the olde Testament & newe are alike. Plea for Infants, page 67.

The antecedent cannot be denied; the consequent standes good, inasmuch as whatsoeuer is simplye and in the kinde thereof essencyall to the beyng of a true Church of God stands allwaies vnalterable in the middest of all other changes. Let vs nowe come to your second reason brought to proue that a provinceall Church is a false Churche./

ROBINSON 2. Reason.

There is one bodye or Church, that is one kinde of Church, Eph. 4. 4, where, yf both particuler and diocesan & provinceall & nationall Churches were true Churches, there were diuers kindes of Churches, one comprehending another vnder it./

ANSWER

First, you corrupt the text with a false glosse and offer that vnto vs for the word of God, for the *one bodye* there spoken of is the vniuersall Church, which is the misticall bodye of Christe, consistyng of and conteyning all and onelie the elect of God, quickned by that *one spiritt* there mencioned, and this is but one from the beginning to the end of the world. This you perverte when you drawe it to a particuler Church, and then to helpe your self interpret one, by *one kinde*, by kinde also vnderstandyng one outward forme of regiment, wherefore this place rightlye interpreted quites it self of your handes, nor onelie so, but is dyrectlie against your collection, for yf by one bodye we vnderstand the vniuersall Church of Christe which is but one, of which the particuler Churches (as touching the sincere partes therof) are members, then doth it followe that there are diuers kindes of Churches, one comprehending another, in as much as there is one that comprehendeth all others./

But suppose that by bodye was meante an owtward visible or particuler Church, and that by one were ment one kinde in respect of the essencyall forme, definition, and nature, will it thence followe that there maie not be in anie sense another kinde of Church? Verelye, noe. Noe more then it will followe that there is but one kinde of baptisme or one kinde of god in anie sense, because he sayth *one baptisme, one God*, for the baptisme he speaketh of there you take to ymport the externall sacrament of baptisme, yet is there another kinde of internall baptisme of which Christ himself is the minister, and there is a baptisme also by affliction, which are other kindes, yea a baptisme of doctrine which comprehendes that of water vnder it. So are there other kindes of gods then the true God, for he said, I haue said, yee are gods. There be, saith Paul, manye gods and manye lords, which are other kindes of gods, that is, not simplie, nor in such a sense, as oure God is one, but in another meanyng, and in that meaning true, for magistrates are not false gods, but not properlie soe. In like manner, there is one kinde of Church, that is, a particuler congregation drawen together into covenant with God, &c. Yet there maie be also manye other kindes of Churches, that is assemblies, called one, not, as the other, simplie and properlie one because they maie meete alto-

[Mat. 3. 11.]
[Mat. 20. 22.]

[Math. 21. 25.]
[Act. 18. 25. & 19. 3.]
[Psal. 82. 6.]
[1. Cor. 8. 5.]

gether at once, but because theye meete in one profession and vnder one superior externall power. So, yf for advantage your false glosse were gyven you, your argument is a sophisme, *a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*. There is in some sense but one kinde, therefore there is but one kinde in anie sense like this. There is in some sense but one onelie begotten sonne of God, therefore there is in noe sense anie other sonnes begotten of God. And that you maie see the vanitie of it, I thus invert the place vpon you: If there maie possiblie be manie kinde of Churches and one comprehendyng another, both called Churches trulie and true Churches, but in seuerall respectes called one, then the Apostle in saying there is one bodye doth not proue that there cannott be a provinceall Church comprehendyng manie particulers, but the former is true, therefore the latter./ The former is true nott onelie in respect of the vniuersall Church comprehending all the particulers, and the nationall Church of the Iewes conteyninge all the sinogogues, but of particuler Churches conteyning the Churches of particuler famelies. The Church of Rome did comprehend the Churche that was in the house of Priscilla & Aquila, Rom. 16. 5. Nowe I aske, where is youre one Churche, that is one kinde of Church, become ?/

Your third reason followes:

ROBINSON *If a particuler Church be the bodye of Christe, as 1. Cor. 12. 27, & he the head, then a diocesan Church or ministration & so the rest must needes be a monstrous interposition and intrusion betwixt the head & the bodye./*

ANSWER I will not call you into questyon for the vnorderlie confoundyng of Church and ministration, as if they sounded one thing, but I answere that you plaie the sophister in this argument alsoe, disputinge *ab accidente comuni tanquam a proprio*, takeyng that title to be onelye proper to a particuler congregation, which is comon thereto with the vniuersall, & so by a proportion with a nationall, so farre as it comprehendeth anie true partes or members of the vniuersall Church or is ioyned in the profession of the true fayth, as yf one should reason thus: Yf euerye particuler Christyan be the Temple of the holye Ghoste, then a particuler

congregation is not soe, or yf everye private Christian be a member of Christe, then a particuler Church is not soe./

If you would argue to purpose, you should haue said: Yf a particuler congregation be the *onelie* bodye of Christe, then a provinceall Church cannott be soe. But you sawe howe absurd it would be to saye that onelie a particuler congregation was the bodye of Christe, & therefore forbore that worde *onelye*, on which the argument should haue rested, & had not the iudgment to for beare the argument it self./ And to shewe you the wretchednes of your argument from this place, I would thus reason: Yf the Church of Corynth were the bodye of Christe, then your Church of Leyden is not, nor anie other particuler church out of Corynth, for to them onelye Paule there sayth, Yee are the bodye of Christe. You will answere that Paule doth not soe affirme it of the Corynthians, but that it maie be also affirmed of other Churches. Soe saie I. It is not so affirmed of a particuler congregation that it is the bodye of Christe, but that it maie agree to all particuler congregations gathered vnto Christe, whether in a diocesse or nation or in the world, that theye are the bodye of Christ, whether for the same respectes or other./

That which you insinuate of a monstrous intrusion, saying that *yf a particuler congregacyon be the bodye of Christ and he the head of it, then anie dioceasan ministration is a monstrous interposition*, &c., doth not onelie push at episcopall power, but at that of sinods equallye, and is a fantasticall toye contrarye to the Scripture. In the verye next verse, which sayeth, And God hath ordeyned some in the Church, as firste Apostles, &c., for were not the Apostles ouer the particuler Churches? Had they not provinceall, nationall, yea, vniuersall power ouer the particuler churches? And even then when Paule saith to the Corinthians, yee are the bodye of Christe, and that Christ was theire head? But you forget that there maye be a necke to conveye from the head to the bodye, or that one man maie possiblie serue therein to sundrye bodyes, as the Apostles, evangelistes, and prophettes did./

Finallye, yf because the Church is the bodye of Christe, and he the head of it, there maie be for the externall regiment noe interposition betwixt her and her head, I will not aske what

Counselles shall doe, but I aske what are you to your congregation ? You are not the bodye nor the head. Are you a monstrous interposition betwixt them both ? They that will presse similitudes and allegoryes to farre wringe sower conclusions out of sweet scriptures, as they that presse grapes to much gett sower iewce./

Your fourth argument followes thus:/

ROBINSON *Christe speaketh immediatlye without diocesan or provinceall Churches to the 7 Churches of Asia, and standes in the middest of the 7 goulden candlestickes, Rev. 1. 11. 13, & hath promised his presence where two or 3 or more are gathered together in his name, Math. 18. 20, as the true Churche of Christe maie be, and ordinarilie is so gathered together in one to comunicate in the word, prayers, sacramentes, and censures of the Church. 1. Cor. 5. 4. 5. & 11. 18. 20 & 14. 23./*

*ANSWER Call you this disputyng. Christ spake not to the 7 Churches of Asia by anye diocesan Church. Ergo, a diocesan Church is a false Church. Is not this as good, Christe spake not to the Churches of Asia by a particuler Church, therefore a particuler Church is a false Churche? Is not this good stuffe? Againe, Christ is in the middest of the 7 Churches of Asia, therefore a diocesan Church is noe true Church. Is not this as good, Christe is in the middest of all particuler Churches, therefore the Catholike Church is noe true Church ?/

Agayne, where two or three are gathered in his name, Christ is in the middest of them. Ergo, a diocesan Church is a false Church ? Is not this argument as good ? Where twoe or three are gathered in the name of Christe, he is in the middest of them, therefore the Catholike Churche which never was, is, or shalbe gathered into one assemblie till the daie of Iudgment, is till then a false Churche./

But you haue perhaps some better meaning then your words pretend, & verelye you had need, for never heard I anie man that had tasted logicke or learninge, reason soe as you doe, which I should not tell you so plainlie, but that I think your ouer weaning requires such plaines./

But to make your arguments as good as vpon this ground they can be, thus they rise: The 7 Churches of Asia were true Churches of Christe and all true particuler Churches haue Christe in the middest of them, therefore a provinceall Church is noe true Church of Christe. This followes not, and this is noe other argument then your first, whose answere maie serue theretoe, namelie that it is a fallacye, yea a double fallacye, *a non causa pro causa, et ab accidenti*, as yf one should saie: The particuler cittyes of Holland, Freisland, Vtreck, &c., are ech of them true states by themselues, ergo, the vnited provinces together are not one true state, when as in seuerall respectes they are manye, & but one, and both true states./

Your mayne ground is shutt in a parenthesis wherein you saye, that *the true Church of Christe maie be and ordynarilie is so gathered together in one to comunicate in the word, sacramentes, and censures of the Churche, &c.*/, which is a false description of the truenes of a Church, for hereby you make this poynt of gatheryng into one assemblie the verye point of difference betwixt true and false Churches, which is a grosse absurditie. And withall you inferre, that those which doe nott or cannott ordinarylie meete, &c., are a false Church, which is false alsoe, for what yf persecution should soe rage that the brethren neyther did nor could ordinarilie meete to the true worship of God, were they a false Churche? or should not their fellowship in profession & covenant once made, & theire comunion in the fayth, hould them still in some such societie as might iustlie yeild them the title of a true Church of God ?/

2. If this were essenciall to a true Church, then allso to euerye member of a true Church, soe far as it is a member, so that he were cutt of from the Church that were cutt of by violence from the ordinarye meetinges thereof./

3. Yea, yf this groundworke be good, then are the Churches no longer true Churches then while they are in assemblie together, for the word Church is noe more but assemblie, or congregation, as you knowe, & howe will you haue them true Churches, when they are nott att all Churches, by your rule./

4. Suppose this did agree as an inseperable qualitye to every particuler true Church to meete ordynarilie to the worship of God,

yett it will not followe that a diocesan Church is nott at all a true Church, but onelie that it is not a particuler Church, whose covenantes & dutye is to meete in one place ordinarilye./ This is the same sophisme sodden ouer againe (which mends it not) *a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter./*

ROBINSON *But it seemeth to be your iudgment aswell as myne that a particuler Church is the onelye true body pollitique & ecclesiasticall, as appeareth in that you determine all profession & practize of divine worship to such a bodye, whence I thus conclude./*
Yf comunion maie be had onelie in the true Church, & that a particuler Church be the onelie true Church, & that noe man can haue comunion in St Andrewes Church but he must also haue comunion in a diocesan, provinceall, and nationall Church, which are noe true Churches, then comunion cannott lawfullye be had with St Andrewes Church, & so separation is iust & necessarye./

ANSWER Because I said that, to speake properlie, euery particuler congregation is a Church, & the Church of England is nott one, but after a manner of speakyng, that is to saie, not properlie or simplie one, you take it I am of your iudgment, as yf one should denye him to be the sonne of God att all that is not soe properlie, or should affirme that he is noe true member of Christes bodie that is not properlie a member of his proper bodye./
Vnderstand, Sir, that thus I wrott to haue cutt you from those quarrelles which you might more iustlye pretend against the Church of England taken as one, and to haue made you more easilye see your sinne of forsakyng that particuler Churche against which you could nott pretend so much; but I neuer was of your mynde in this pointe, and I trust neuer shall beleue but that all the Churches of a nation vnited in one fayth and proffession (which is the reall outward vnion of particuler members of Christ & his Church) meetyng sometymes in their officers or deputies, ranged vnder one superior externall power of discipline, maie be called convenientlie one Church, and that theire fayth and profession beyng true, they are a true nationall Church. Wherefore, against your conclusion I oppose./
That yf comunion ought to be held with the true Churches of

God to which we haue ioyned oure selues, and the Church of St Andrewe in Norwich be a true particuler Church (allthough a member or parcell of a nationall or diocesan Church), then comunion ought by you to haue beene held with it, and therefore your separation was neyther necessarye nor iust, but schismaticall and sinnefull, of which I beseeche the God of mercye to gyue you true repentance in due tyme, and to make youre returne as famous as your falling of is notorious and scandalous./

ROBINSON 2. Argument

Everye true Church of God is gathered out of the world and separated and sanctified actuallye from the same in religious comunion accordyng to the dispensation of the tymes, whether before the Lawe or vnder the Lawe or since Christe came in the flesh. Gen. 3. 15. & 4. 16. & 6. 2. & 9. 26. 27. & 12. 1. 2. 3. Levit. 20. 7. 2. 4. Ezra. 10. 11. Nehemiah. 9. 2. Ioh. 15. 19. Act. 2. 40. & 19. 9. Rom 1. 7. 1 Cor. 1. 2. 9. Phil. 1. 6. 7. But St. Andrewes is not so gathered out of the world, nor separated and sanctefied from the world according to the dispensation of the Gospell, but was at the first gathered for the most parte, and so still consisteth verye much of the men of the world, as is most apparent, as by other enormityes, so in particuler by the persecutions raised even amongst them selues against such as professe the feare of God in anye sinceritye, besides that it standes vnseparated from & in spirituall comunion one bodye ecclesiasticall visiblye or externallye with all that parte of the world within the kinges dominions./

ANSWER

Your first proposition is not cleare enough, for yf by separation from the world and actuall sanctification you meane that the Churches of God are so separated in the profession they vndertake & ought to be practized, then it is true, but yf you meane (as it seemes you doe) that all true particuler Churches and members therof are reallye sanctefyed and separated by the spirit of sanctification from the wicked, or elles cease to be the Churches of God, your proposition is Anabaptisticall & false, and so disproued by the holy scriptures, as I wonder anye man can vtter it that reades them./

The places you alledge for proofe of this fansie are divers, none proveyng, most disproveyng the same, For Gen. 1. 15 is properlie

to be vnderstood of Christ, analogicallye of the true Children of God which are at enmitye with the world, even though theye be ioyned externallye in one spirituall comunion, as were Ismael & Isaak, Iacob & Esaw, & some of the Galatians (as it seemeth). Your second place maie importe noe more but that Cayne, departing from God's presence which then had talked with him, went to the land of Nod, &c., as a man ashamed of his facte. But was Cayne euer actually sanctifyed, or was he not, of the Church before? or were the rest noe true Church till he was separated? or did they cast him oute?/

**Gal. 4. 29.
**Gen. 14. 16.

Your third Gen. 6. 2 shewes, indeed, that there were some that professed God's seruice, when others became prophane, but had these sonnes of God beene all actuallye sanctefied they would haue forborne the daughters of men, and when they did mixe with them, were they not still for a tyme the visible Church of God? or was there none?

Gen. 9. 26. 27 prophesies that God's covenant should be especyally stablished with Shem's posteritye which were the Iewes. And were all the Iewes (saue in profession and dutye) actuallye separated from the world & actually sanctified? Will Mr Robynson affyrme that, agaynste all God's complayntes of them by the prophets?

Gen. 12. 1. Abraham is separated from his idolatrous kindred, even locallye, what then? Will you inferre a locall separation alsoe from the world? Againe was not this in respect of externall worship of the true God? Was Abraham alone a Churche? Or were all his familie internally saintes? even Ismaell also? or were they not all one church with him? Levit. 20. 7, Sanctefie your selues &c., proues that the people which professe God's name, ought to be sanctefied, but doth not proue that theye are soe, or elles are nott (as touching externall covenant and appearance) God's people. Vers. 2, of not sacrificeing theire sonnes to Molech and punishing with death such as did it, touched a mayne pointe of worship wherein yett yf some fayled (as they after did), the rest sufferyng them, yett ceased not the Iewes to be the people of God. From fayling in a dutye to a falling from covenant houldes neyther in a Church nor in a Christyan./

Ezra 10. 11 requires separation from grosse idolaters and strange

women, but doth not proue that theye were all personallye and inwardlye saintes, when this was done, nor that they were not the true people of God before this separation, yea therein is against you./

Nehem. 9. 2 shewes a particuler separation from aliens which perhaps would not ioyne with them in God's worship, but proues not all Israell to haue beene internally sanctified, or not to haue beene externallye God's people before this separation, but contrarylye/.

Ioh. 15. 19. The world that hated the disciples were the Iewes, which at that tyme were the visible Church of God, though not true members in the sighte of God. The world is sometimes in the Church and even there hates those that are in it & of it./

Acts 2. 40 is an exhortation indeed to separation in pointe of fayth from those that resist the Messiah, not from all comunion with them in everye pointe of God's worship, wherein the Apostles obserued them for a tyme, nor doth this place proue that particuler Churches in all the members therein are actuallye sanctified, seing a man might, and manie did, abandon the Iewish infidelitie that were never sanctified in theire hartes, as Ananias, & Saphira, & Simon Magus./

Paule separated from blasphemers & withdrewe the disciples to another place. What then? Therefore it is fitt to withdrawe doctrine from dispisers, & the brethren from such companie. This will follow well, but therefore all the members of a true visible Church are actuallye sanctified will not followe, noe nor that they are actuallye separated, for I demaund, Were the brethren whome Paule at lengthe separated a Church of God before that separation or noe? The most that can be inferred hence is, that there ought to be a separation from obstinate refusers, but proues not that yf this be not done, God's people loose theire beyng./ Acts 19. 9.

Called to be saynts in Rom. 1. 7 is as much as saintes by calling, 1. Cor. 1. 2, which shewes what is the profession and dutye of euerye member of the Churches, not what is their capacytie./

And yf you did not loose your eyes by stryveyng, you might see that even amongst them whome the Apostle calleth sayntes by calling, there were manie corupt, & vnsanctefied persons, car-

nallye [a] contentious one with another, wantons & vncleane persons,[b] prophaners of the lordes sacramentes,[c] doubters of the resurrection,[d] &c., and it seemes that in the Church of Galatia[e] there were that persequuted theire godlye brethren as you saie there be in St Andrewes, which yett are counted one bodye or comunion with the true saintes among them, because of this externall proffession wherin they ioyned with them./

*[a] 1. Cor. 3. 1. 4.
*[b] 2. Cor. 12.
*[c] 1. Cor. 11. 30.
*[d] 1. Cor. 15. 12.
*[e] Gal. 4. 29./

As for Phil. 1. 6 it is no better, for the Apostle speakes of that Church accordyng to the good parte of it, & respectiuelye to the true lyving members therof which were sanctefied, not denying but there were amongst them even of their teachers bellye gods and worldlynges, of whome he giveth them warning with teares.[f]

*[f] Phil. 3. 18.

So then I invert, Yf the Iewes were the true people of God and to be ioyned with in God's worship notwithstandyng their mixture of cleane and vncleane and the shamefull fillthines of manners which were in some of them, so long as they yett reteyned the fundamentall partes of God's externall worship;/ if the churches of Galatia, Corinthe, Asia were true Churches, when they had some amongst them vniust, vnholye, loving the wages of vnrighteousnes, teaching alsoe some false doctrine, then it followes that everye true Church of God is not (in all the members therof) separated from the world and actuallye sanctefied, but in onely such of the members as are the seed of God accordyng to the election of grace, whose right is not lost by other men's lewdnes, & that such churches are not to be forsaken./

Nowe to your minor touching St Andrewes parish./

I further answere that as touching profession of fayth & sanctetye accordyng to the word there taught and professed and sacramentes administred, it was gathered and actuallye separated from the world & sanctified, which is as much as is needfull to the constitution of a particuler visible Church. If some be loose and hatefull against others that are better reformed, it is noe other then in other Churches, that is to saie, a fault of men's persons./ Touching the first gathering thereof it perteynes rather to your third argument & there shall receyve further answere./

The comunion it professedlie houldes with all his Maiestie's dominions is cheifelye in the fayth of Christ and true worship of God./

The summe of my answere is this, that your maior is false, vnderstood as you doe of reall separation from the wicked and actuall sanctefication./

And yf you vnderstand it of the profession of sanctefication whereto a church of Christe is called, then is your minor false touching St Andrewes parishe, wherein yf there be manye, might [?] they swarue from that to which they are called, as Israell did to whome it was said: Be yee holy, for I the Lorde your God am holye./

I come to your third argument with this onelye item, that your second and third (as your first) doe aswell condemne eyther all or most of the reformed Churches, as namelye those of Scotland, and this of the lowe countries, as the Churches of England, for in them is mixture, and they were by authoritie compelled to desist from superstition, and resume the true worship of God, yf they would haue favoure of the magistrate./

ROBINSON 3. Argument

Everye true Church of God is ioyned with him in holye covenant by voluntarye profession to haue him the God therof & to be his people. Gen. 17. 1. 2; Deut. 29. 10. 11. 12 &c.; Nehem. 10. 1. 29; Acts 2. 41; 1. Ioh. 1. 3; 2. Cor. 6. 16. & 9. 13./

ANSWER [This distinction of planting and repayring Churches your owne Mr Clifton is forced to looke vp against Mr Smith for the baptizing of the children of apostate Churches: who thinkes the word repayring fitter then yours of constituting Churches. Page 201 & before page 187.]

Your first proposition, vnderstood as you vnderstand it generallye of all Churches and of such a voluntarye profession as excludes the compulsion of any externall power, is false, but for the better discerning of the error thereof, it behoueth to premise some admonitions, & first to distinguish the first erecting or foundyng of a Church (where none was) as it were vpon a newe foundation from the reedyfying or repayring of a church vpon the foundation formerly layed./

For even as in the case of the maried where cause of separation hath beene gyven, it is not needfull to solemnize a newe mariage or begin the contract againe but onelie to recognize the bond allreadye entred, so it is in the case of Churches which haue fallen in greate measure from their covenant, that there needs not as at the first a newe collection or calling out to make a covenant, but a recognition of the covenant once made in takeyng vp the profession and practize thereof./

And in this case of recognition or reduction that is lawfull &

fitte which at the first entrye of covenant had beene iniurious [?], even as when a man hath taken vp his freedome, he is lyable to taxes and dutyes which before could not be imposed; or as a seruant haueying once entred condicions of service, maie after iustlye be compelled to keepe those condicyons which he could not at the first be compelled to enter into, soe it is for those that for themselues & for theire seed haue once voluntarilye embraced covenant with God, that yf they or theires after fall from it, they maye be by censures of the Church, or cyvill power compelled to resume theire covenant, of which we see examples in the scriptures./

[†Which was as your owne Mr Clifton shewes before the apostacie of Antichrist. Plea of Infants, page 200 & 204, yet were these diocæsan Churches.]

Nowe, accordyng to this true ground, you ought to haue considered (which you forgett) that the reformations made in Queene Elizabethes or King Edwardes daies, were not the first plantyng of the Englishe Churches (which were then planted when by the preaching of the Gospell theye were converted to the Christian fayth & gaue them selues thereto voluntarylye),† but were onely such a reducyng of them to the true worship of God (with whome they still professed to hould covenant) as the scriptures doe honorablie commend to haue beene vrged by Asa,[a] Hezekiah,[b] Iosiah,[c] and some other kinges.[d]/

[a 2 Chron. 15. 13.
b 2 Chron. 30. 5. 12.
c 2 Chron. 34. 32.
d Ezra 7. 26.]

Soe vnthankfullye doe you blame the worthye endevoures of our princes cut out after the paterne of the famous kinges of Iuda, and so vnskillfullye doe you confound the callyng, & recalling, building, and repayring of the Churches, makeyng that essentiall in the one case that is soe onelye in the other./

[The substance of a thing is that which giues the first essence thereto. The solemnity is a manner or quallity accidentall or happening to the thing, whereby the act is made solemne, saith Alciati: Lib. 5. Paradoxorum, 2 dox., cap. 15.]

There is yett one thing more to be admonished, namely that you doe confound an externall solemnitie or forme of profession with the essentiall outward forme of a Church, and make that to be of the essence which is but of the ornament, as were those sollemne professions of repentance or renewing covenant alledged by you, which did not make the people of God then to be (as doth the essentiall forme), but did as a solemnitie declare the same to be his people professedlye./

These things beyng premised, nowe lett vs examine your argument in all the proofes of it, and see howe vnsufficyent they are to your purpose. Gen. 17. 1. 2 proues not that everye member of a visible Church doth voluntarilye take vpon him the covenant,

but that such members as will approue themselues to God must bee perfect, that is vpright./

Secondlye, this was at the first institution of the covenant before circumcision, vnto which though Abraham as the first taker vp of this tenure must needs enter voluntarilie, yett was it imposed on others without their consent, which the text it self cleares, verse 9. 10. 11. 12, where the badge of covenant is imposed vpon the child of 8 daies ould who was not led to take it vpon him (as Abraham) by voluntary profession but rather compelled./

Thirdlye, your instance is not of a Church, but of a person, betwixt which there is great odds, for a visible Church standyng in covenant maye consiste of elect and reprobate, but noe person houldeth covenant with God in private, but the elect of God onelye./

Lastlye, Abraham was separated vnto God before this solemnitie,† and therefore it is ill applied to the first act of gathering or separatynge vnto God by covenant./ [†15. 18.]

Your second place out of Deut. 29. 10. 11. 12. 13 is onlie of a solemne renewing [a] of covenant, which did not make them nowe to become the people of God by gathering them into a covenant, but serued to stirre vp conscience of the covenant made with them before, like as the Iudges of Sparta renewed ther oathes once a month, which solemnitie did not then make them newe Iudges but put them in minde of their ould dutyes./ For it is confessed, vers. 1, that before this covenant God had made a covenant † with them in Horeb (which was not of God's parte revoked) as before with Abraham & his seed, Gen. 17./ [Deut. 29. 1.]

[a Renewing not entrie into couenant as your owne Mr Clifton against Smith sayth often, as page 21 & 29, though page 196 he crosse himselfe]

[†Whence your Mr Clifton proues that infants may be baptized without their owne stipulation or contract with the Lord.]

Moreouer, this place proues not that all did it voluntarily, but that they ought rather, as beyng drawne to that end before the Lord's presence./ [2ly.]

It was made not onelye with the present assemblie, vers. 14. 15, but aswell with the absent, whose voluntarye consent no man could knowe, but Moses knewe it was their dutyes to haue consented and bindes them to it./

Fynallye, here you put an externall solemnitye practized by such as were before this tyme God's people, for the verye essencyall forme which makes the people of God to be that they are./ [3ly.]

Your third place out of Nehem. 10. 1 is as impertinent, for it is

onelye of an outward solemnitye, vsed in testimonye of theire repentance at a solemne fast; and you take an example as a necessarye rule, an ornament for a mere necessitie./

**2ly. This is not of a people gathered by this acte of voluntarye profession, for they were before this the people of God & in covenant, but was only a godlye publication of their purpose to cleaue to God./

**3ly. The sealers here are not all but the cheife for the rest whose voluntarye consent they could not knowe, which example might rather haue showed you the lawfullnes of our princes' reformation, when by Acte of Parliament they repealed superstitions and published God's worship, wherein (inclusiuelye) one might saie all the land consented voluntarilye, at least as well as all Israell

[Neh. 9. 38.] vnto this acte of the princes, Levites, and preistes, Nehem. 9. 38./

Your fourth place of Acts 2. 41, of baptizing those that gladley receyued the word vpon the first plantyng of the Christian Churches, is vnfittlye alledged in a case not of plantyng, but of repairyng; not of baptizyng, but of reforming the baptized/

**2. Presse this place and it will driue you to the Annabaptistes, for whye doe you baptize infantes or anye saue such as gladlie receyue the word ? vnles there be a difference to bee made betwixt those that are to enter, and those that in themselues or their forefathers were entred before, as indeed there is./ [b]

[b By this distinction your Mr Clifton defendes himselfe against Smith the Anabaptist obiecting that place, 187.]

By this place you maie as well proue with the Annabaptistes that none are members of the visible Churches but those that are

**3. truelie sanctefied, for such were these, yet you require but a voluntarye profession of covenant, which hipocrites maie make./

[5 place] 1. John. 1. 3 is farre of from the marke, for this onelie showes that by the doctrine of the Gospell preached, men are called into the fellowship of God & his sayntes, but proues not that the posteritie of those which haue beene called by doctrine into that fellowship maie not be compelled to desist from superstitions, and from practizing anie other then God's worship where toe theye stand bound by auncyent covenant./

**2. If this place will proue that none be of the visible Church but such as by illumination of the word vnite themselues to the saintes, it will also proue that none vnite themselues to the Churches but those that are alsoe vnited to the Father and the

Sonne, that is the seyntes, as Mr Smyth & the Annabaptistes hould./ So there shall not be anye hipocrite in the Churches./

2 Cor. 6. 16 proues well that God's people ought not to haue communion with idols, idolaters, or vncleanes, but rather separate from them, which will well warrant the magistrates to thrust God's people out of such companye yf they be not diligent enough to goe of themselues./ [6 place]

The voluntarye separacion to be vrged from hence is not to make a man externallye a member of the visible Church (which maie be, whether his profession be voluntarye or noe),[b] but to make him internallie one of God's, which is another point which magistrates cannott reache toe./ **2.

[b This distinction of internall and externall, &c., is your Mr Clifton glad to take vpp against the Anbaptistes. Page 196.]

It is one thing to be one of God's people at large, as all the professed members of his Church are, another to be one of his in specyall, as are onlye his elect. There is a Iewe which is not a Iewe, an Israelite not an Israelite, a Christian not a Christian, and as theyr condicyons are diuers, so are the essencyall formes of their constitution, a point which you seeme to forgett while you require the same condicions of euery externall member of the Church, which must be had in everye sincere member./ **3.

Finallye, out of this place yssues an exhortacyon that everye member of the Church should purge himself from all filthines, 2. Cor. 7. 1, but yf he doe not, it followes not that he is noe visible member, or the congregation (wherein he is) noe true Church of God. And therefore yf you will followe this place home to the marke in your sense, you must turne Annabaptist, as others haue done vpon the same ground./ **4.

2. Cor. 9. 13. The voluntarye submission of the Church of Corinth to the Gospell at their first calling proues not that therefore in the recalling of a wandring Church all the members must voluntarilye submitt theretoe or elles there is noe true Church. However they ought and must (yf they wilbe true members of the Church) willinglye submitt themselues./ [7 place]

You are farre wide yf you thinke that whatsoeuer the Apostles speake in praise of the Churches was true in all the members therof, for even amongst those Corinthians (as appeares) were manie such, as the Apostle feared he should finde such as he would not, and such as he should bewayle, which had not repented **2. [2. Cor. 12. 21.]

of their vncleanes, fornication, and wantonnes committed. Thinke you these also had submitted to the word saue in profession ?/

Now to your minor I answere, first, that you deale not sincerelye in chaunging the state of your question for advantage, for the question beynge of St Andrewes as it nowe stands, you runne backe to that congregation as it stood fiftye years agoe, as yf because then manie did suddenlye & ignorantlye embrace the truthe, for respect of the lawes, therefore now also this congregation (wherin perhaps be not two of those lefte) doth not voluntarelye receyue the covenant of God. Mr Robinson, is this answered with a good conscyence, is this sinceritye ?

**2. Touching that congregacion as it was then, how proue you it did not embrace the covenant voluntarilye ? forsooth because by compulsion ? what compulsion ? was there anye other compulsion then the commaund of the lawes to desist from idolatrie & to worship God accordyng to his word ? And could not this compulsion of lawe stand with voluntarye submission, as well as Israell willinglye embraced what Asa and his princes, Hezekiah and his princes decreed and enacted, 2. Cron. 15. 15 & 30. 12?/ Verelye, the ioye of most places in England at that change, rather showed that former restreynt & feare had kepte them to superstition, then that they were vnwilling to leaue it of./

**3. You mistake yf you thinke they were all taken vppon the acte of authoritye to be members of the Churches, but partlye vpon their first covenant & then vpon their submission to the lawe and reall profession, which whether it were voluntarye or noe, could not be iudged, nor can you tell./

**4. Wheras you saie it was accordyng to the perambulation of the parish, I answere you that though a man was taken as belonging to the congregation of such a parish, yett this alone made no man a member or comunicant, but his auntient birthright and his willingnes to comunicate./

**5. Whereas you saie, that they still were for the most parte noteoreous, ignorant, and prophane persons, you speake at randome, but where you saie it hath ever since the first mouldyng and yet doth consiste for a greate part of such as with whome the Lord neuer entred covenant (yf you speake of the external covenant

it is fals of all, for they all haue the covenant of God as all Israell had, Rom. 9. 4; yf of secret or internall covenant it is impertinent, yett herein, besides that you are very presumptuous in that censure and forgett what apparent faultes maie be in the true sayntes,/ you do crosse your self in confessing a greate part of that congregation to be such as with whome God is in covenant, whoe yet externallye haue noe other covenant with God then all the rest professe to hould, and withall you insinuate a grosse error, namelye that the socyetye of those which are vnsanctefied doth disanull the covenant of God with such as are sanctefied, as yf forsooth theise were not a people gathered vnto God in specyall covenant because there be among them such as are nott indeed in covenant with God but in showe onelye or externallye)/.

Here also you fall agayne into your ould pitt while you confound the consideration of externall members with the condicion of internall or sincere by which rule you maie condemne all the Churches that ever were, yf anye hipocrites be among them, seyng God neuer entered into inward covenant with hipocrites./

Wherefore, when as you conclude that St Andrewes hath neyther the matter of a Church, which is sayntes by calling, nor true forme, which is covenant with the Lord, and therefore can be noe true Churche,/ you haue onelye taught your toungue to slander a famous Church of Christe which hath manie reall sayntes in it, and none but doe professe sanctetye & houldeth that same covenant with God professedlye which Christ hath sealed with his blood, beleiving and professing that fayth which you dare not as yett gainsaye./

[Yet saith your Mr Clifton, page 22: We count these that are hypocrites & doe outwardly profess the faith to be of the couenant, and, page 80, holy in regard of the couenant.]

I haue allreadye shewed the ground of this error that you doe falselye define the essencyall forme of a visible Church as you did before the matter of the visible Churches./

I therefore invert this argument vpon you thus: St Andrewes hath the matter of a true Churche, which is men called to be seyntes, & the true forme, which is the profession of covenant with God by Iesus Christe accordyng to the Gospell. Therefore it is a true visible Church from which noe man can separate without sinne. Looke you therefore to your reckoning, for it is fearfull./

[4 Argument] The fourth argument followes./

ROBINSON *No comunion maie be had in a devised worship or liturgye, &c./*

ANSWER You make your propositions verye loose & ambiguous, which must be want of iudgment or of conscyence./ For worship and liturgie or seruice in vse of speech signifies sometyme the essencyall actes of God's worship or thinges wherein we doe esteeme God to be worshipped, in which sense all devised worship is sinnefull; sometyme by worship is meant the outward fashion, or carriage of such dutyes as belong to the worship of God, in which thinges the devise of men is not simplie excluded but lymitted./

Nowe, yf your proposition be vnderstood of worship properlye so called, it is true, but then youre minor is false of the Churches of England./ If it be vnderstood, as you seeme to vnderstand it, of anie externall forme or order of disposeinge the actions perteyninge to God's worship, it is a fantasticall opinion, contrarye to the iudgment of all the Churches of God & their practize in all ages and to the scriptures./

[†Ester 9. 27. 28. 1. Chron. 24. 3. with 25. 6. et 2. Chron. 23. 18, the end of it.]

But come wee to the proofes, by which you would proue the Churches of England to be constituted in a false worship of God./

ROBINSON First (you saye) *much of the matter of the service booke is erroneous./*

ANSWER Perhaps you meane some translations or some apocriphall chapters which yett noe more concludes a false worship of God, then when a man missealledges a text or mistakes the sense. All the booke is not properlie worship, and therefore there maie be errors in the booke, which are not errors in God's worship./

Besides that everye error in worship makes not a false worship seeyng there is noe sinne, but it is some error./

That all the booke is not properlye dyvine worship you confesse in charging it to conteyne some thinges in *their nature* cyvill, as burialles and mariages, *which yett maie* (in that vse the Church principallye intends which is reuerentlye to blesse mariage, & to make some vse vnto the lyving of the buryall of the dead) haue some thing anexed to them that is devine. Eatyng our meate is a cyvill action, but gyveing of thankes is a sacred./

The churching of women, or thankesgyuing as it is vsed with vs, cannott be called Iewish, nor is (otherwise then in the vse of prayers) esteemed anye worship of God./

Biddyng of holy dayes is noe parte of dyvine service, noe more then the publishing the banes of mariage, nor is the keeping of them popish that is to the honor of the seintes, but of God onelie, nor doth oure Church esteeme the obseruation of such dayes anye parte of God's worship, but a thinge indifferent. This rabble of impertinent thinges in which your conscyence knowes the Churches place noe worhip serue but for faceyng, wherein yf the Churches be encombred withe some vnnecessarye fashions, it is a defecte in her order, but yett it is nott in the proper partes of God's worship./

MR ROBINSON **2.

To proue a devised worship you saie *God hath commanded noe booke but the ould and newe Testament to be vsed in his Church*, what then? Therefore, his worship maie not be placed in the vses of anye other booke, as it is an other booke followes well, but therefore noe booke elles maie be vsed in the tyme of worshipping God will nott followe, noe more then to saie God hath commanded nothing but water for baptisme, bread and wine for the Lord's supper, therefore to command that the water be in a bason or font brought into the Church, the bread on a plate, the wine in a siluer, glassen, or earthen cuppe is a will worship, as indeed it were, yf anye man placed the worship of God therin.

ANSWER

Mr Smyth by the same ground hath cast out all translated scriptures from beyng vsed in the tyme of God's worship, you shall doe well to goe to him or quite his grounds, vnles you can proue that God commaunded a translacyon to be vsed in his Churche more then a forme of prayer./

MR ROBINSON **3.

God was and maie be purelie worshipped without a prescript forme, ergo, this is a devised worship./

ANSWER

Good, yf we beleeued that in this verye forme consistes the worship of God, elles ridiculous; for eyther maie be where neyther is necessarye./ God was and maie be trulye worshipped without anye particuler place sett aparte theretoe. Therefore to appoint a place for it is to devise a worship. Indeed, to thinke the worship bettered by the place it self were to devise a worship./

And howe easilye is this to be inverted ? The holye prophettes and Churches of God haue purelye worshipped God vsyng prescript formes of prayers, as doe all reformed Churches (I count not you that are in mutenye against all reformed Churches) of Christendome at this daye. Therefore, a prescript forme of prayer is not a devised or will worship eo nomine because it is prescribed./

MR ROBINSON *4. *The service booke quencheth the spirrit of prayer. Ergo, it is a devised worship./*

ANSWER Indeed, yf it doe, it is a cause, but not soe yf it doe it as an occasion onelye, by reason of oure preiudice or negligence.

MR ROBINSON But why doth it quench the spiritt of prayer, *which God gyves to the officers of his Church ? because (forsooth it taketh vp the place and worke of the spiritt, whose office is to teach vs what to praye accordyng to oure present necessities. Rom. 8. 26. 1. Cor. 12. 7./*

ANSWER Howe takes it vp the place and worke of the spirit ? what by ministring vnto vs without studye the matter of oure requestes or the manner of vtteryng them, that oure affections might be the more at large and intentiue ?/ Howe did God teach the Iewes, howe did our Lord teache his disciples to praye ? Did God's spiritt teach meanes of crosseyng or of serving it self./

To saye Christ taught not his disciples a sett forme of prayer which they were (though not alone or allwayes) to vse, is one of the most fantasticall conceytes that ever came in anye man's brayne, considering how clearlye the Evangelist notes the occasion gyven & the answere thus, *saye Oure Father*, not thus, saie to your heauenlye Father, or praye to him that his name maye be hallowed, &c., but puttyng the forme of peticion into their mouth he bids them speake thus vnto God, Our Father which arte in heauen, &c./

*Luke 11. 2.

Tell me not that there is noe comparison betwixt Christes prayer & ours, least I tell you no more is there betwixt his & yours conceyued. The question is not of the excellencye of the prayers but of their prescription or stintednes./

Moreover, yf the worke of the Spiritt be hindred by a prescript forme of words, then by all the publike prayers of the pastors is the spiritt of prayer hindred in the people, while to them is the

forme of prayer prescribed in as much as the ministers' wordes limittes their spiritt in prayer./

Answere me nott that this is God's ordinance, for yf you doe, you then confes that God hath ordeyned his people a stinted forme of prayer, while they all are to attend what one speaketh and are prescribed what to praye for & in what words not by the spiritt in them, but by the mouth of their minister./

Yf you were not contentious, you might see that all publike prayer is limitted and stinted to all the congregacyon, saue onlie to him that conceyueth it, wherin yf the Church of God maye by the Spiritt of God make her prayers, then is not the worke of the Spiritt hindred by the prescription or limitacyon of a sett forme./

Doth not Mr. Robinson yett knowe that the act of prayer, as it is a spirituall worship, lyes not in the forme of words, whether vttered out of present conceyt or written out of former conceyte, but in the intencyon of the hearte sanctefied by fayth presenting the requestes vnto God with feeling, which intention of the spiritt takes neyther help or hurte by the difference of a present or former conception of words ceteris paribus./ And verely as it were a superstition to place the verye acte of devine worship (properlye taken) in such or such a forme of wordes written, so is it a like supersticyon to hould that God cannott be worshipped in anye forme of words conformable to the scriptures./ For eyther of these doth alike place the worship of God wherein he hath not placed it. So you teach a devised worship of God in prayers, & not the Church of England, while you teach that God cannott as truelye be worshipped in a forme of prayer penned as in a forme of prayer immediatly conceyued, whereas the Churches of England houldes them indifferent, prescribyng some prayers and leaving others to the minister's abilitie, discrecyon, & present occasions according (therin) to the scriptures, which giues vs examples of both kindes vsed of God's people, and allowed of God himself./

You speake comonlie of the spiritt in prayer, as yf the worke of the spiritt therein were some extraordinarye inspiracyon or ravishment like those of the prophettes & not an habituall grace sanctefying our intencyon, memoryes, iudgment and affections,

which yf it be your meaning to doe, you shall doe well to foresee the spiritt of Annabaptistrye to be entring vpon you, but yf you meane by the spiritt no other then that grace which sanctefyeth and directeth our naturall powers in that worke, then doe not thinke the spiritt to be eyther impeached, disparaged, or hindred by anye suche externall meanes as help our invencyon or memoryes. Howe euer noe such outward helps can sufficientlye teach our heartes to praie, for that onelye doth the spiritt of God./

You ad that *prayer must be accordyng to the present necessityes*, & I tell you that the comon prayers of the Churche of England are for such thinges as we ought to thinke necessarye to be craued for our selues or some other of our brethren at all tymes./

And as for extraordinarye occasions the minister is left at libertye to meet with them./

Lett me, therefore, conclude that seyng God himself ordeyned some sett formes of prayer to be vsed,[a] & Christ [b] taught his disciples a sett forme of prayer, and all publike prayers are to the people sett formes of prayers, sett formes, therefore, hinder not but rather serue the grace of God's spirit in their heartes. Fynallye, seeing all Churches of God vsed sett forme of prayers, it is a strange fantasticall pride in you to condemne all the Churches of God of false worship, and a false worship among your selues to place the worship of God in one onelye kinde & manner of prayers which God himself hath left indifferent to that waye or to another, provided allwayes that the externall manner be animated & quickned by his spiritt in oure heartes, without which all kinde of prayer conceyued or written are to vs dead & vayne, to God vnpleasant & vnsauorye./

[a] Numb. 6. 23, &c. Ps. 92. Ps. 102.
[b] Luke 11. 2.

*5. *Mr Robinson. 5. Argument *Answer

It is not lawfull to comunicate in anye other ministerye then Christ hath left in his Church which I thus manifest.

Your maior is ambiguous, true in some sense, false in some other, for yf by other ministerye you meane essencyallye & intencyonallye an other ministerye then Christ hath left in his Churche, it is true; but yf you meane (as it seemes you doe) by another ministerye, a ministerye of anye other fashion in the manner of calling, title, imployment, or mayntenance, then is it false, your

proofes eyther needles or forceles, — needles, yf you would proue that which noe man denyes, forceles yf you would proue that a man maie not comunicate with anye other ministerye then such as is in all pointes prescribed by Christe./ But lett vs see your proofes whose want of weight you supplye with number./ First you saye:

The ministerye of the newe Testament is a parte of Christes Testament which he hath sealled with his blood, and therefore nothing maie be added to it or taken from it. Gall. 3. 7; Heb. 9. 17./ *Mr Robinson

Your places out of Gal. 3. 15 (for you misnumbred the verse) & Heb. 9. 17 proue that God's covenant is not to be disanulled, but you should haue proved that every ministerye or kinde of seruice in the Church with all the circumstances thereof are prescribed in Christes Testament, wherto you bring nothing but a bare assertion; yett yf you had proued so much, you had not proued what you vndertooke, namelye, that it is not lawfull to comunicate (suppose not in lawfull thinges) with a ministerye which is in anye pointe sinnefullye vndertaken. Howe euer the sinne is nott to be allowed./ *Answer

Your second proofe is this:

It is a parte of Christes kinglye office to appoint the officers and ministers of his kingdome./ *Mr Robinson

What then ? Therefore, noe kinde of officers maye be appointed in the Church but by Christ in his owne person. Will that followe ? Or by Christes imediate revellation. Will that followe? Verylye not soe, but that, therefore, noe office maie be sett vppe contraryant to those that he hath established & rules which he hath gyven, for whoe dares saye that the Church of Christe doth not at all communicate † the princelye power of her Lord ? Or whoe dares condemne the primitiue Churches for helpinge themselues with some kinde of seruantes which were not prescribed, as that of the readers & acolathes howe ever it turned to abuse ?/ *Answer

[†Your Mr Ainsworth [1] affirmes. that it doth.]

[1] This was probably the way in which the third person originally spelled Ainsworth's name. The name, however, as thus written, has been crossed out, and "Haneswoorth" substituted for it in a fourth handwriting.

Butt take it that there is a sinne committed in the erection or alteracion of the ministerye in anie pointe, as there is in the choise of anye other kinde of magistrates then such as God prescribed, will it followe that men maye not comunicate with them? If soe, then will it also followe that a Christian maie not lawfullye comunicate with a covetous or vnrighteous magistrate, which beyng true in respecte of his faulte, is not soe in respect of his office./ Your third is this:

*Mr Robinson *It was not lawfull for anye vnder the lawe to minister before the Lord save the Levites, nor to comunicate with anye other soe ministring. 1. King. 12. 31. 2. Cron. 11. 19 & 26. 18. 19./*

*Answer Your place out of the 2. Cron. 11. 19 is by some forgetfullnes vtterlye mistaken. The others proue well that none but the Levites were capeable of the Preisthood, but this is vtterlye beside the question, which is not whether a man maye comunicate with such a person as is vtterlye vncapeable of the ministerye, as all were then of the Preisthood but the Levites, but whether a man sinnes in comunicatyng with a man in excercyse of his ministerye, which hath beene vndertaken or imposed with some sinne./

You confound a nulletie & a defecte, as a man should saye the mariage which a man makes with his owne sister is vnlawfull and voyd, therefore also the mariage which a man makes with an vnbeleeving woman. One of these makes a nulletye of the act, the other a great fault, but not a nulletye./

Make your comparison even and it will teach you better. For lett the case be of a Levite or preist that otherwise liveth then God prescribed, or that was not sanctefied legallye accordyng to the purification of the Sanctuarye, or not learned in the lawes of God as he ought, did the people sinne in comunicating with his ministerye, yea or noe? If not, as you must confes, seyng the prophettes and even Christ himself did comunicate in the holye thinges of God when the preistes were miserablye out of square, then consider that, likewise, the Lord's people maye comunicate in his worship without sinne in such a ministerye as is sinnefully admitted or administreth sinnefullye in some personall respectes./

To this third you ioyne an amplification, that

As Christe was not lesse faythfull or carefull, &c., then Moses, 1. Cor. 12. 5. Heb. 3. 1. 2, so neyther is he worthye of lesse honor in his ordinances, &c., in the administration of his kingdome, which is a kingdome that cannott be shaken. Heb. 3. 3 & 12. 23. 28./ 1. Tim. 5. 22./ *MR ROBINSON

All this beyng graunted wins nothing to your cause for neyther doth this proue that Christ hath strictlye prescribed all circumstances touching the ministerye of the newe Testament, seeing Moses did it not (for the orders of the Levites in the ould were otherwise ranged afterwardes by David[a]), nor yf this were proued would anye thing followe but that there were a sinne committed in not observing in everye point the patterne, not that they which partake in the ministration should partake in the sinne of the minister, which point is so absurd as yf you will vphould it you must also graunt that whatsoeuer sinne the minister committes in the worke of ministration the people which communicate with him must alsoe partake. For yf his entrance into the function shall defile them, much more his execution, seeyng they ioyne with him in this worke and not allwayes in the other./ Finallye, the faythfullnes of Christ in his house lyes not in prescribyng particulerly everye cyrcumstance & rite as Moses did, but in doeyng and prescribyng so much as he had in comission, that is, those thinges which doe in the Newe Testament belong essencially to God's worship, as did those particuler prescriptes of Moses in the Ould; I thinke verylye that they are wide of the marke which drawe the comparsion (as some doe) to all externall thinges † or orders in the newe Testament, as yf those also were as essencyall partes of the newe Tabernacle as the beesome, ashpans, &c., were of the ould./

It is true that you saye Christes kingdome cannott be shaken, but it is absurd to place that kingdome of Christ (as you doe) in externall & varyable cyrcumstances, wherin yf the kingdome of Christ had stood, it must haue beene shaken all to fitters longe agoe./

Your place of 1. Tim. 5. 22, *Laie not hands rashlye on anye man, &c., neyther be partaker of other men's sinnes*, comes in out of

*ANSWER

[a 1. Chron. 23. 24 et 24 chapters]

[† This your Mr Clifton is forced to confess in defending the baptisme of infants which Christ hath not by name præscribed as Moses did circumcision who showes that Christes faithfulnes in the house of God lyes not in that particular præscription of all thinges, but in performing all thinges which Moses and the prophets had sayd should come to passe. Page 115[?] with 190 & 198. 1.]

square to proue the kingdome of Christe to be vnshaken, but yf you meane to applye the latter parte of it (neyther be partaker of other men's sinnes) to this case of comunicatyng with a minister in whose manner of ordination there hath beene sinne committed, you are much miscaryed, for though no man could laye on his hands & approue a sinnefull ordination without sinne, in as much as his consent was vnto the sinnefull worke, yett a man might lawfullye comunicate with that person in another worke which is not sinnefull, yea & disallowe his sinne in the entrance, even as a man maye lawfullye communicate at the Lord's table with an angrye or a covetous minister whose wrathfullnes or covetousnes he maie not approue, seing God forbids them./

*Mr Robinson Fourthlye (you saye), *the ministerye is a meanes of God's worship and so vnalterable./*

*Answer I answere both the antecedent and consequent are questionable. For yf you meane that the verye externall manner of calling, names, maintenance, and such like, is a meanes of God's worship (vnles you vnderstand a meanes remote), it is false & of such thinges is the question betwixt vs./

And when you saye *therefore vnalterable*, your inference is doubtfull, for not everye meanes of worship but these that be immediate meanes & prescribed of God as meanes, are soe far forth vnalterable that without sinne they cannott be altered, and so is the ministerye of the newe Testament.†/

[† Namely as it is ordayned of God to be an immediate meanes of woorshipp in prayer, in preaching, and administration of sacraments, it is vnalterable, that is without sinne cannot be altered.]

But what yf one graunted you as much in the ordinacyon as in the execution & in the circumstances as in the substance? All that you could winne is that the Church sinned in altering, but not that one might not comunicate with, such a ministracyon, vnles you will saie that we cannott comunicate in anye thing with that Church of God that sinneth against anye ordinance of Christ, which will put you to separate from all, yea from your owne, ministerye vnles you be without sinne in the execution of it./

*Mr Robinson Fiftlye, *Christ* (saie you) *hath promised noe blessing to anye other ordinance then his owne. Math. 28. 20; Eph. 4. 11. 12. 13./*

*Answer If the ordinances of the Church answere the square of generall rules, they are in some sence Christes and soe capeable of a bless-

ing, because suteable to that which he hath commaunded. Wherefore, yf you meane by ordinance a particular prescription, you are abused./

But graunt your assertion, what followes? but that, therefore, so farre forth as the ministers are not the ordinance of Christe there is no blessing promised that Christ hath blessed the ministerye of England, dare you denye?/

But in the pointes of comunication with them in prayer, doctrine, & sacramentes, they be the ordinances of Christe, howeuer in manner, or cyrcumstances of ordinacyon, or calling not soe. You doe throughout in this question confound the essencyall propertyes with necessarye cyrcumstances,[b] as one should thus dispute: He that hath not all the essencyall partes of a man is not man, therefore he that hath not two legs and two armes is noe man, for even as the legs or the armes are partes of a man not essencyall, but rather perficient, so are those cyrcumstances of the ministery which you stand on./

[b Accidentall corruptions mixed with baptisme in poperie destroyed not the substance, saith your Mr Clifton. Page 171 et 207.]

> Lastlye (you saie), *the officers which Christ hath placed ar sufficyent for the worke of the ministerye & the edificacion of the bodye till the bodye be perfect, as appeareth in the place last named, Eph. 4. 11. 12. 13, & so must feed the flocke till Christes appearance. 1. Peter. 5. 1. 2. 4./*

** Mr Robinson

And how then? Therefore it is not lawfull to comunicate with the pastor of St. Andrewes, for your question is of him./

*Answer

But you meane in respect of the episcopall authoritie wheretoe the pastor of St. Andrewe is subiect. Now, yf your place proue the Bishop to be an vnnecessarye addicyon, doth it therefore proue the pastor or teacher there to be vnlawfull? what logick call you this? Yett doth not your place proue the Bishop to be vnnecessary, vnles it proue also the laie elder & deacon to be vnnecessarye, neyther of which are eyther named or signified in that place where you saye all the needfull officers are expressed?/

Indeed, of these named some were, some are necessarye of simple necessitye & must be, but that there maie be noe particuler manner for disposing & orderyng of these beyond themselues will not followe, vnles we shall also cut of the authoritye of the particular congregacyons aswell as of Bishops or sinods in Church governe-

ments, or saye that the externall discipline makes not to edification of the bodye of Christ./

You erre, therefore, in takyng that to be simplye, absolutelye, & onelye ascribed to these officers which is but principallye or specyallye attributed theretoe, for the Scripture doth also require other helps, as namelye priuate admonicyon of others, & oure owne diligence for the edification of the bodye of Christe. The place of 1. Pet. 5. 1. 2. 4 is ill aleadged to proue that pastors & teachers & elders must feed the flocke till Christe come, although the thing be true./

Thus haue I gone through all your 6. reasons which proue not that everye alteracyon in cyrcumstances concerning the ministerye is sinnefull, much lesse that to comunicate in God's true worship with such a ministerye as is (in some respecte) sinnefull is an vnlawfull thing./

Now followes your minor, that is,

* Mr Robinson *That the ministerye of St Andrewes in Norwich is another ministerye then that which Christe hath left in his Church,/ for confirmacyon wherof you first premise, that the ordinarye ministerye which Christe hath gyven & the Appostles ordeyned in every particular Church, are Bishops or elders & deacons. Act 6. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. & 4. 23. & 20. 17; Phil. 1. 1; 1. Tim. 1. 3; Titus 1. 3. 4. 5, &c./*

This you confirme by three argumentes:

* Mr Robinson 1. First, *that these Christe hath appoynted, the holye Ghost made, and the Appostles ordeyned, and so without the same or a greate power they maie not be reuersed.*

2. Secondlye, *that for these alone and their choise the Lord hath taken order. 1 Tim. 3; Tit. 1.*

3. Thirdlye, *these alone are sufficyent for the dispensation of the holye thinges of the Church, the elders of the spirituall thinges for the soule, the deacons of bodylye thinges for the bodye or outward man./*

Then you inferre

That the Church of England reteyneth onlye the name of deaconrye, establishing a most counterfeyte & adulterate office vnder it./

2. *St. Andrewes Church is not capeable of the true office of*

deaconrye (which all true Churches are) neyther hath it vse, or it maie be neuer had or shall haue, of the office of deaconrye established in the Church of England, as all true Churches haue of all true offices when the Lord affordeth fitt men; so that eyther the Church or the office (or rather both) must be of men & not of God.

I perceyue you abandon the governing elders as doth Mr Smyth, for those elders or Byshops you mencyon were preaching elders, about which poynt I will not striue against your iudgment. You also abandon the widdowes, although they and their choise also be described by St Paule, which you denye in saying that for these alone and their choise the Lord hath taken order./

The office of elders is not onely discribed but the necessitye of it in perpetuitye for the gathering together or consummation of the saintes. Eph. 4./

Touching the deacon's office maie be more question, in asmuch as it is not properlye a spirituall ministration in regard whereof the Appostles put it of from themselues, and was excercised in nothinge perteyning to the edification of the conscyence in godlynes, but (as you saie) for the owtward man./

Secondlye, howe ever, in those tymes it was necessarye the Churches should take oıder for releife of theire owne poore members, least they should by want fall[1] of or be exposed to the malice & scorne of enemyes while yet the civill sword was against them; yett when God adioyned the cyvill power to the Church, the care of releeuing the poore might comodiouslye fall vnto the cyvill magistrate's disposicion for anything I yett knowe, as well as vnto Nehemia, cap. 5. Nehemia. For it is noe proofe of perpetuitye that it was then ordeyned for the Churches, seyng the collection for the releife of Ierusalem was then a thing ordeyned in all the Churches of the Gentiles to be made everye Lord's daye, &c., which yet no man will saie must in like case be continewed in such manner and forme but that princes maie commaund such releife of their subiectes./

So, likewise, the Appostolicall decrees for absteyning from blood & strangled was made by the holye Ghost, ordeyned by the Appostles, yett is not of perpetuitye, nor yett reversed by the same

[1] MS., full.

or greater authoritye, but determind (as all lawes essencyallye doe) with the reason or cause of makeyng it./

I speake not this to disproue the practize of the Christian Churches in reteyning still such an office as very comodious, but sincerely propound what I thinke touching the simple necessitie of it, where you cannott well blame men, seyng your self seeme to haue cutt of the colledge of widdowes which yett were then in vse & ordeyned, as well as the deacons./

Wherefore, passing by what you saie of another kinde of deacon made in the English Churches, & what you ad of St. Andrewes incapacitye of true deacons, I content my self to saye that yf that Church doth want that kinde of ministerye, it followes not that it hath another kinde of ministerye then that which Christ hath erected, noe more then it followes that a man hath stollen goods in his house because he wanteth goods of his owne which ill debtors keepe from him. Onely when as you saie, *that all true Churches haue vse of all true offices when the Lord affordeth fitte men*, I must needs tell you that you speake both tymorouslye & without iudgment, — timorouslye in addyng when the Lord affordeth fitt men, as belike seeyng that sometyme true Churches want the vse of some true offices (as perhaps your owne); without iudgment in affirming that all true Churches haue vse of those offices which with one breath you confes they maye sometymes want for want of fitt men, & yet be true Churches./

Agayne when you conclude that in respect of the kinde of deacon which the Church of England makes, *The Church or the office or rather both must be of men and not of God*, you ouerlash extremelye; first, for the office, but cheifelye for the Church, for though that office take vp the name of deacon (which beyng in nature comon to anye ministerye was appropriated (by vse) to that ministerye about the poore), yea though also it be restreyned from a full imployment in the spirituall ministerye for a tyme, yett is nott the office simplie of men, but onely the limitacyon and restreynt of it, like as the office of readyng the Scriptures in the congregacyon is not of men, although the choise of such a person & lymitacyon of so manye chapters at a tyme be humane./

But to saie that the Church is of men and not of God because it hath some ordinance not commanded or wanteth some that

should be, is soe foule a conclusion as this should be against a Christian, to saie he wanteth of all that grace he should haue & hath in him some defectes, therefore he is not borne of God but rather of flesh & blood./ You add:

But because there is noe such office of deaconship in St Andrew's which is the subiect of the question, therefore we will passe it over and come to the eldership which Christ hath left in his Church, which I denie to be found in St. Andrewes, whether we respect the office in the naturall and essentiall partes of it, or the calling vnto it prescribed by Christe./ * Mr Robinson

It is tyme to passe it ouer when you haue spent your powder and shott vpon it. It had bene more proper to haue passed by it with seylence, seyng it was (as you nowe confes) impertinent to oure question. Lett vs now heare howe you proue St. Andrewes not to haue the eldership which Christ left in his Church *in the naturall and essencyall partes of it.* / You saye as followes:/ * Answer

First then, this office of eldership is committed by Christ to a companye or colledg of elders, who are ioyntly to minister to the particuler Churches ouer which they are sett. Act. 14. 23. & 20. 27; Phil. 1. 1; Tit. 1. 3; 1. Pet. 5. 1. 2./ But St Andrewes neyther is nor canbe possessed of any such eldership thus ioyntlye to minister to it. Ergo./ * Mr Robinson

Speak you this against St Andrewes or against all the Churches vnder heauen, even Mr Johnson's & your owne especyally ? which is further of from a colledg of elders then St Andrewes, for you are single[1] & perhaps like soe to be, wheras St Andrewes hath three that doe administer to it, all preachers, and two of them noe whit inferior to your self in anye grace of God for the ministerye, in some superior, as I suppose your humilitye will confes. But to your argument & proofes of it alleadged./ * Answer

One of your places doe proue that there were in the first planted Churches, namelye in the cittyes first planted with religion, more ministers then one to attend that flocke committed to them, but

[1] This passage indicates that there was no elder in Robinson's congregation at the time of the removal to Leyden.

proues not that that flocke consisted of one onelye particuler congregacyon, although (beyng within one cittye) it is called one, for that the Church of Antioch [a] where the Christians so well multiplied, of Ierusalem [b] wheretoe belonged more thousandes then could conveniently be drawne to one assemblye, the Church of Ephesus [c] from whence all Asia tooke light, were one onelye particuler congregacyon is neyther certeyne nor probable; and the like maie be said of the rest. And then what haue you wonne ? seyng the question is of one particuler congregation in a cyttye, and you dispute of the Church of a cittye, which beyng in some respectes one maye be devided into manye particuler branches and in all likelyhood was then./

[a Act. 11. 26.]

[b Act. 3. 41. 47.]

[c Act. 19. 10. 18. 20.]

* This section was added synce.

If it be obiected that in Ierusalem was one onely particuler congregation, because it is said, Act. 15. 9 [22], It seemed good to the Apostles & elders with the whole Church. &c. I answere that the phrase is captiouslye taken vp, for whole Church there ymportes that present companye of the brethren which were drawen together whose ioynt consent is noted in the word *whole* & doth not import that all the belieuers in Ierusalem were present & gaue consent, for they were brethren, verse 10 [23], not sisters, who yet were members of the Church & might be more in number then the men./

$2^{lie.}$ A generall assemblye drawen out of sundrie particuler congregacyons to the sinod maie be called the whole, not simplye but in a sorte, as the assemblie, 1. King. 8, is called the congregacyon of all Israell, which noe man will dare to saie was all vniuersallye present./

[Vid. Act. 12. 4. What 12 preachers of the Church !]

$3^{lie.}$ It is manifest & confessed that the beleeuers in Ierusalem did meete to worship God in smaller companyes, which must be true Churches of God or false, for Churches theye were, that is assemblies drawen together to religious worship, thoughe reteyning as it were to one consistorye./

[4. 1. Pet. 5. 2.]

Obiect not that it is said, Act. 20, to the elders of Ephesus, feed the flocke, as speaking of one, for so sayth Peter, feed the flocke, writyng to the elders of the Iewish Churches dispersed in Pontus, Asia, Galatia, Capadocia, & Bythinia, in which you will not saie there was but one particuler Churche, yett all those particulers & all other are essencyallye but one flocke of Christe./

If you instance that in the Actes 14 it is said theye ordeyned elders in euerye Church,/ I answere that the place is to be interpreted partlye by it self, which names the citties of Listra, Iconium, & Antiochia, where they ordeyned these elders (*in euerye Church*); partlye by another like by you alleadged, wher Paule gaue Titus in care to ordeyne elders in euerye cittye in which there might be more then one particuler Church./

Adde thereto that the Appostles planted Churches onelye in the cittyes for the better spreadyng of religion into the villages & townes, & therefore you herein doe but equivocate in the name Churche, which sometymes imported all the seuerall Churches of one cittye, sometymes one seuerall assemblie./

But yf euerye particuler congregacyon had more ministers then one, howe proue you a colledg? Two are more then one, but les then three cannott make a colledg. And yf this were Christes ordynance, that euerye congregacyon must haue a colledg of ministers to governe it, I will not aske how countrye Churches & poore townes shall doe for maintenance, but when there wilbe such a flood of able ministers as will serue euerye congregacyon with a colledg of them./

2. Agayne, admitt that the Appostles ordeyned to euerye particuler congregacyon a colledg or societie of ministers to governe it, when the graces of God for the ministery overflowed & Churches were fewe, will it followe that it ought euer so to be? Can you yett see no difference betwixt an example, & a constitucyon, a presedent & a cannon, or a temporarye ordinance & one perpetuall?/

3. Finallye, saye it ought to be soe perpetuallye & is not, doth this proue the ministerye of St Andrewes to be another ministerye then that which Christ hath ordeyned? Can Mr Robinson see noe difference betwixt the kinde of ministery & manner of administracyon? Were the Levites another ministerye in David's tyme then in Moses', because then cast into another order then they serued in before? You might as well saye you are another man then you were in Norwich because you are nowe at Leyden, for such accidentall changes change not the essencyall beyng or names of thinges, and you vndertooke to speake of essencyall partes, not accidentall./

Come we to your second reason:/

*Mr Robinson *The elders which Christe hath left are to feed the flocke of Christ, vnder Christe the cheife Sheepheard immediatly, & are countable to noe other sheepheard but him alone spirituallye./ 1. Pet. 5. 1. 2. 3. 4. But the ministers of St Andrew's are to feed not onlie Christes flocke but the Bishop's flocke to whome as to an high Shepheard they must be countable. Ergo, the ministers of St. Andrewes are not such as Christ hath left to his Churche./*

*Answer Countable to none but to Christ spirituallye, that is ecclesiasticallye, what odds betwyxt these elders & a pope saue in number? for this is his primacye to be in spirituall thinges the cheifest & countable to none but to Christe. What not to the congregacyon where they are? perhaps yes, but to noe other Shephard, that is to the sheepe, but to noe shephard. What, not to the rest of the colledge of elders, but everye one entyer? yes perhaps to the shephards, but not to one shephard./

So wretched a thing and soe blinde is a contentious mynde, that to winne what it striues for will lose more then it winnes./

But how falslye this is said that the ministers of Christe are countable to none but Christe, appeares by that account which Paule bids Tymothye take of the ministers, & yett Timothye was a shephard & was not Christe./

*1. Tim. 1. 3. & 3. 15. & 4. 11.

If you obiect that Tymothye was an evangelist and that calling nowe expired, it's not to the point, for it sufficeth to proue that the elders maie possiblie be accountant to some other shephard then to Christe, which you gaynsayed./

And seyng all your prescription for your colledg of elders is from those tymes in which the Appostles lyved, & evangelistes alsoe to take a reckoning of them, with what face can you plead from these tymes a perpetuall colledg of elders, & refuse from the order of the same tymes a superioritye of some power over the same, whether in one person or in manye./

Your onelye place to proue your assertion is miserablye alleadged out of 1. Pet. 5. 1. 2. 3. 4, which onelye proues that the ministers must gyue account to Christe as to the great shephard, but not that they must gyue it to him alone; you forgett that he was an Apostle that wrote this whome (you thinke) they were to account vnto./

The like I saie to the first branch of your assertion, *That the ministers are to feed the flocke of Christe, vnder Christ ymediatlye*, that is without subiection to anye ecclesiasticall or spirituall power. For proofe wherof you bring nothing. Against which I returne, that all the elders which the Appostles ordeyned were subiect to them and to the evangelistes, and thoughe that power in these particuler functions haue ceased, nor canbe resumed in the right of those determined offices, yet such a power must be continued, whether in some selected persons such as were at the first called Bishops or in the consent & sinods of manie, otherwise the particuler Churches shalbe without bond or order. So vnwiselye do you provide for ech particuler congregacyon a liberty which must needs preiudice the vniuersall and as by other your argumentes you condemne all the ministerye that is or hath beene since the Apostles as a false ministerye, so doe you by this, which is noe small sinne in you./

As touching your minor, *That the ministerye of St Andrewes feeds not Christes flocke onelye, but the Bishop's*, it is fitter of scorne then of answere, beyng but a scorne and returnable vpon your self, who feed not onelie the flocke of Christe, but your owne, I trowe, els whye are you the pastor of it ?

Is it soe absurd a thing that that flocke which is properlye Christes maie in some sense be called the Bishop's, that you should make as it were two flockes of one for the phrase sake ? The Bishop is a seruant to that flocke of which Christe is the Lord./

When you ad that the minister is to give his account to the Bishop *as to an high shepheard*, yf you meane in such a sense as Christe is the high shephard, you knowe you slaunder; yf you meane as to an higher (touching the administracyon of censures) then the pastor is, it is true, and yf this be an expression of the minister's (which you haue not proued), yet doth it not proue his ministerye in the holye thinges not to be of God more then the vsurpation of the Romanes ouer the highe preistes office in placeyng & displaceyng proued a nulletye of all his preistlye actions in God's worship. And this might serue for answere to your next argument, but that I desire to gyue you a full hearing./

Your third reason to proue that St Andrewes hath not essencyally such elders as Christ left in his Church thus followes:

* Mr Robinson *The feedyng which Christes inioynes his ministers is the teaching & ouerseeyng or governing the flocke by such elders. Act. 20. 28; 1. Thes. 5. 12. 13; 1. Cor. 3. 1. 4. 5. & 5. 17./*

*Answer This which you make your third argument is for a good parte of it the same with your second, for what meane these words *by such elders*, but that these elders should feed & governe the particuler flockes ymediatlye vnder Christe, that is to saie without subiection to anye other ecclesiasticall power; which if you proued as you offer to proue, it would onely conclude that the elders of St. Andrewes are oppressed and abridged of that power which they ought to haue, but this will not proue that therefore they haue not Christes ministerye, for, because they are robbed of some, doe they forfeyt the rest of their right ?/

**2 But, indeed, you proue not that the ministers of Christe ought thus (immediatlye vnder Christe) to feed & governe the Churches, for Act. 20. 28 showes that the elders are bound to feed the flocke, & 1. Thes. 5. 12. 13 showes that they are sett ouer them in the Lord; but neyther of these showe that they were to doe theire office imediatlye vnder Christ without subiection to other ecclesiasticall officers more then the charge which Moses [a] and Iehosaphat [b] gaue to the officers and Iudges for doyng iustice doth proue that they were absolute commaunders imedatlye vnder God himself./

[a Deut. 16. 18.]
[b 2. Chron. 19. 6. 7.]

Your third place out of 1. Cor. 3. 1. 4. 5 showes not that the elders were not subject to others, but that our dependance must not be vpon the person of anye minister, but vpon Christe that died for vs./ Your fourth place of 1. Cor. 5. 17 verse is mistaken, beyng but 13 verses in the chapter./

**3 You haue not onelie not proued what you vndertooke by these scriptures but you haue proued the contrarye, for I am sure you will confesse the elders of Ephesus (to whome Paule giues charge to feed the flocke that depended on them) and soe of Thessalonica, to haue beene ecclesiasticallye subiect to the Appostle that spake this to them, which showes that subiection to an higher ecclesiasticall power maye stand well with that power which the

Lord gaue vnto the particuler pastor of anye such Church, & that they maie feed and governe the flocke though others ouersee bothe them and their flockes, as the Appostles & theire assignes, the evangelistes, did these pastors./

Nor onlye soe but this president doth shewe it necessarye, that for the good governing of the particuler Churches there be some superintendent power which by ordering & combyning the seuerall flockes of Christe, maie prouide for the good of that vniuersall bodye of Christe, which consisteth of his electe dispersed in all the particulers. But to meete with this you adde:/ **4

And so we shall finde throughout the Newe Testament that the Appostles neuer ordeined or tooke course to haue ordeyned eyther newe Appostles or evangelistes successiuelie, but still elders in euerye particuler Church by whome the Church of God was to be fedde, the holie thinges of God to be administred in theire seuerall charges./ *Mr Robinson

A successiue ministerye of evangelistes (properlye vnderstood) cannott be without a successiue ministery of Appostles vpon which that was to attend for particuler dispatches; nor can there be anye Appostles properlye but such as sawe the Lord in the flesh and had immediate calling from God with vniuersall commission ouer all the world. It was, therefore, absolutelye impossible for the Appostles to ordeyne successiue Appostles or evangelistes which you vnnecessarelye affirme, & Mr Iohnson proues verye idolye at large, as yf we tooke vpon to be Appostles or evangelistes. It is also most certeyne that the Appostles ordeyned noe other kinde of standyng minsterye in the particuler Churches then pastors or elders, but what then ? *Answer

If hence you had inferred that there is no ecclesiasticall function which is by dyvine institution sett aboue the pastors, you had said truelie, and no more then Hierome, Augustyne and other fathers, the Cannon Lawe, the Counsell of Basill, all the Bishops of England in King Henry the Eightes tyme, & generally all the reformed Churches doe receyue, which hould that by divine institucyon a Bishop and an elder are one, not in name onelie (as some latelye haue trifled), but in function, as the Scripture doth most clearlye showe./

[As appeares by Augustine — *Episcopum non debere*, &c.]

But when you hence inferre (as it seemes Aerius [1] did) that it is not lawfull to constitute a Bishop ouer a presbiter, or anye ecclesiasticall person to haue superintendence ouer the pastors, you gather it weakelye, as yf the Appostles had forbidden whatsoeuer they did not commaund in externall discipline, or the scripture had as carefullye determined the changeable cyrcumstances thereof as the most necessarye pointes of oure saluation./

The lawfulnes & the necessitie of some superintendent power ouer the particuler pastors to keep them in good order & vnitye of doctrine appeares in the presidentes of that power which the Appostles committed to the evangeliste Timothy, even where he had established elders./ 1. Tim. 1. 3./

The com[u]nion of the Churches & their mutuall edification, the correction of the pastors themselues & much more the ordinacyon of them (which neuer was gyuen into the people's hands) doe showe the necessitye of some superintendent ecclesiasticall power ouer the particuler both flockes & shepheardes./

What is then to be said ? Verelye, that a superior power ouer the elders must euer remayne grounded partlye vpon the Appostolicall presidents, & partlye vpon the twoe inviolable lawes of necessitye and charitie, as without which the good of the vniuersall cannott be possiblie attended & confirmed by this devine cannon, *God is not the God of confusion but of order./*

But, as touching the particuler manner of executing this power, it seemed good to the holye Ghost, not to prescribe anye one waye, but for the better comoditie of the Church in all places & ages to leaue that at libertie, bounded onelye with generall rules, that the Churches might with good conscyence erecte or embrace one or another manner as necessitye or advantage should perswade them,/

And hence it came that where noe evangelistes were, or where the evangelistes (which tooke their authorytye from the Appostles) ceased, the Churches of cittyes and their subburbs were first governed by comon consent of the pastors, where the superior power ouer ech particuler was placed in the consent of all or the most, as it is in euerye popular estate; and this though

[1] Aërius of Pontus, head of the hospital or asylum at Sebaste about the middle of the fourth century.

it was (as Ierome sayth) the first fashion, yett was not prescribed by the Appostles soe to be./

Wherefore, when the Churches found inconvenience of this order, because men drewe to parties & into factions, some preuayling (as euer falls out in such a gouernment) aboue the rest, the pastors by consent found it requisite to choose out one to whome by waye of specyaltye they gaue the name of Bishop & to whome they gaue also not an emptye title but some authoritye and power of gouerment though not all, or all alone to him./

And this, as it began in some places before all the Appostles were dead, as at Alexandria from Marke, so it spread (by the lykyng of it) ouer all the world in that age & hath euer since continewed. [Hieron. Epist. ad Euagrium; et in Titum, cap. 1.]

Howe euer Bishops afterward drewe more and more to them, till at length it came to greate abuse./

Nowe as the Churches of citties & villages belonging to them erected the Bishops for superinspection ouer the elders and Churches therof, so vpon the like reasons the Bishops of sundrye cittyes found it necessarye to submitt them selues to the gouerment of a Metrapolitane, whose seate was in some cheife cittie, and this in tyme of persecution & by consent./

Afterwards also they rose to Archbishops & to the four greate Patriarkes (which seeme to haue beene establyshed at the fyrst Nicen counsell) as a convenient meanes both to righte particuler insolencyes, to keepe the Churches in socyetye, to hould out of the comunion of all Churches such as were iustlye caste out of anye, & for the better gathering of particuler sinods or generall counselles (by leaue of Kinges & Emperors) through decision wherof the appeales and controuersies & other comon affayres of the Church were handled & determined./

It is true that amongst the Patriarkes also they thought fitt to giue precedencye to one (which was but a poynt of honor and order), & this fell (for the glorye of the emperiall cittye) to Rome./

But when the Bishop of Constantinople (whither the emperiall seate was retyred) began to contend for a newe & insolent title of vniuersall Bishop, the Bishop of Rome ouerwrought him, & contrarye to all former intencyons & institucyons made himself vniuersall Bishop, from whence he became that monster and man of sinne which exalted it self aboue all that is called God,

for as the Emperours coruptlye suffered his papall vsurpation ouer the Churches to their irreparable damage, soe God afterwards suffered it ouer the Emperores themselues, to their most iust & shamefull scorne & punishment./

Now, Sir, before you come to the papall tyrannye which liftes it self aboue all that is called God, there fell sundrye different orders or degrees of superintendencye which the Churches first tooke vpp by consent, while the magistrate was an enimye to the fayth, & after receyued by the allowance & authoritye of the Christian magistrate, vnto whose place the disposinge of externall thinges in the Church doth properlie belonge by devine institucyon as the Lord's Lieutenent in his place./

So then, even as the cyvill power is divine in the generall nature for which it is said to be of God,[a] but in the particuler kindes thereof is humane [b] & soe called, so is the superintendent ecclesiasticall power also./

[a Rom. 13. 1.]

[b 1. Pet. 2. 13.]

And the ordering or setting thereof is eyther extraordinarye or ordinarye, extraordinarye eyther by divine comission or by dispensacion, by dyvine ccmmission once onelye in the Appostles, into whose hands Christ did committ that power ouer all Churches which ordinarelye perteynes to the magistrates in theire seuerall kingdomes or seigniories, or by dispensacyon, & that often in case of meere necessitye, as in the tymes of open persecution of the fayth, when the Churches for theire owne advantage maie constitute the best orders for themselues without consent of anye magistrate, like as one assaulted then lawfullye protectes his life with his owne sword where he cannott call for the protection of the lawe./

But ordinarelye it belonges vnto the magistrate's place by dyvine institucion to appoynt such externall formes & orders of the discipline as (sortyng with the generall rules of scripture) maye best advance the Church of God, of whyche God hath made him a member, a protector & father, & of whome he will take an account therof./

So that it maie be at the magistrate's pleasure to establish an externall regiment by vse of sinods, Archbishop, & Bishops as in the first well ordered churches, or to reduce the regiment of Churches to the ioynte gouerment of the elders in their cittyes

or cyrcuites, or to devise anie other good waye,/ allwayes provided that there be some ecclesiasticall coercyue power sett ouer ech particuler, and that the generall good of the Church may be still intended, and that those essencyall callinges and administrations which Christ hath prescribed be vphoulden, the comon rules of the word in all thinges obserued for edification./

I returne to you at lengthe, therefore, & confes that the Appostles tooke order onelye for that which is at all tymes & to all particuler Churches simplie necessarye, that is the standing & particuler ministerye of pastors or elders & their ministration, but for the superinspection of them did not ordeyne successiue evangelistes but onelye lest the president of their superintendent power as necessarye to be practized, though not vnder the title, or by proper right of evangelistes, nor confined vnto anye one or other manner; wherein they haue provided for the varyetyes of tymes, ages, places, & occasions that might ensue, without detractyng any thing from the magistrates' authoritye, to whome (by dyvine ordinance) in ordinarye that care dothe belong, as it hath beene executed before & since the coming of Christ in the flesh. Wherefore the ministerye of elders maie execute that which Christe hath particulerly inioyned them, although some ecclesiasticall authoritie be sett ouer them to see them doe dutyes whether it be of Bishops, elders, or sinods./

Now haueing cast out of your third argument that branch that belonged not to it but to your second, that is the consideracyon of the elders feeding & gouerning vnder the inspection of others, lett vs se it as it is, a third argument distinct from the second./

The feedyng which Christ inioynes his ministers is the teaching & ouerseeyng of the flocke, but for the ministerye of St Andrewes as it is vtterlye prohibited all gouerment which the Bishop ingrosseth into his owne hands, that he maie lord it ouer both minister & people, so neyther is feedyng by preaching necessarely inioyned it, &c./ * Mr Robinson

You bombast your minor proposicyon with the proofes of it vnseasonablye, which it behooueth to seuer & soe to make your proposicyon orderlye & negatiue to the maior as you should haue done in this manner./

But the feeding which is inioyned the ministerye of St Andrewes is not the teaching & ouerseeing of the flockes. Therefore what ? Therefore the feeding and gouerning which is inioyned the ministery of St Andrewes (you meane by the Bishops or the lawe) is not the feeding which Christ inioyned his ministers.

Is not this the direct conclusion of these premisses ?/

He looses himself sorelye in disputacyon that looses the question as you haue done in this argument, for you should haue concluded that therefore the ministerye in nature and essence is not the ministerye of Christe, instead wherof you conclude that the officers of the Church doe not vrge that dutye vpon the ministerye which Christe specyallye required, which if it were altogether true, as it is not, showed onelye grosse faulte in the externall discipline of the Church or officers of it, but did not showe that therefore the ministerye in their owne nature & essence were alienated from Christes institucion./

For is an inferior magistrate in the nature of his office changed from God's institution, yf a negligent Prince forgett to presse vpon him the proper duties of his function ? Were even obedient children essencyallye changed from the condicyon of naturall sonnes amonge the Iewes, because the pharisies pressed not the commaundement of honouryng father and mother as God would, but contrarilye ? Mat. 15.

Is a chast wife estranged from the essencyall propertyes of a wife, yf the lawes punish not adultrye, or her owne husband require not chastitye of her ?/

I euer tooke it that the essentiall or materiall dutyes of an office were in the nature therof, whether men inioyned them or not, and so will you thinke when you consider better of it, and then will you see the pouertye of this argument, which because it could not ouerthrowe the cause tilted besides it./

So then yf this third argument be wholye graunted our cause is not hurte, because not touched in the conclusion, howebeit your assumption is not altogether true, namelie *that the feeding inioyned by the Church of England vpon the pastors is not by preaching, and gouerning the flockes committed to them*, of which you doe confusedlye mix the proofe with your proposition, saying:

First the ministerye of St. Andrewes is vtterlye prohibited all gouerment which the Bishop ingrosseth into his owne hands that he maie lord it ouer both minister and people, secondlye that preaching is not necessarelye inioyned./ * MR ROBINSON

You forgett all moderation when you saie the *ministerye of St. Andrewes is vtterlye prohibited all gouerment./* *ANSWER

Is there noe goverment of the Church in feeding it by doctrine? Is it not the cheife parte of spirituall gouerment? in soe much as the same woord which signifies to feed, signifies also to gouerne, when God saith to Ieremye, that he sett him ouer kinges and nations to plant & plucke vp, &c., gaue he him noe gouerment? And yett he gaue him none but by preaching. Is not the ministerye of God's word the arme of his power, the scepter of his kingdome? Is not labouring in the word & doctrine made the more honorable branch of gouerment, 1. Tim. 5. 17? What a man are you to saie that he that hath the word and sacramentes and administration of prayers alsoe committed to his care is prohibited all gouerment in the Churche!/

Againe, euery minister both maie & ought publikelye to admonish, exhorte, rebuke, convince knowen sinnes or errors, & at his ordinacyon is made to promise to giue his faythfull dilligence alwayes soe to administer the doctrine & discipline as Christ hath appoynted & that Church receyued it./

Againe, he maye present anye knowen offendor to the churches officers, he is bound to suspend from the Lord's table anye notoreous offendor or ignorant person. He maie possiblie be assistant to the Bishop in ordination or maie be taken by the Bishop for an assistant in his sentences of depriuation, suspenseon, or excomunication, and yett you saie he is vtterlie prohibited all gouerment, as yf you had resolued vtterlie to abandon all modestye in reproueyng./

But you thinke belike he loses all that has not all, or not all he should./ Finally the Bishop by the kinges authoritye & consent of the parliament houldeth that which you saie he ingrosseth, & is made the comon seruant of the Churches in that office wherein you saie he lords ouer them, & in his office is restreyned by lawes in the matters & manner of his proceedyng, nor hath anie power

of imposeyng anie lawe vpon the consciences of men or anie externall order but that which is by lawe established./
Wherein yf anie of them affect or vse to much greatnes forgetting them selues and their bretheren, their institucyon and trust, it is a great, but yett a personall, not a functionall fault as you make it./
Nowe as this of goverment is vntrue, soe is that of preaching partlie guilefull, partlye false; guilefull, when you put in the word *necessarelie* which was not in your maior proposicyon, as yf preaching were not at all enioyned because not necessarylie, wherin yett it is vntrue (as shall appeare in answere of that you add for proofe of it), and yf it were true, is not sufficyent to proue your intencion as hath beene shewed./

* Robinson *The ministerye or rather indeed the preisthood of St Andrewes & so of all other the parishes of the land stands in offering vp the daylye sacrifize of the service booke, in marijng, burying, churching of women, ministring sacramentes in forme, readynge homilyes, & performing other cannonicall obedience accordyng to the oath of cannonicall obedience, but for preaching the Gospell or that parte of it which the lawe alloweth, it is not essencyall to the ministery of England, but an accidentall, personall qualification, there beyng manye hundreds in the land true ministers accordyng to the English cannon which neyther doe nor can preach./*

*Answer To proue that preaching is not necessarelie inioyned, you first ramble ouer for your pleasure some other thinges that are necessarelye inioyned, as yf the more vehement imposicion of those thinges not so necessarye as preaching would proue this were not necessarelie required, like as one should saie, Men at [?] mariages take bondes for ioynters, dowryes, and such like, & none for honestye, therefore chastitye or fidelitye is not necessarylye by them required; as yf soe be that pointe was not vnderstood in the verye nature of mariage (though there be noe mention made of it) as an essencyall & the most important point which needed not (as the other) to be spoken of particulerlie./
But when you saie the ministerye of the English Church stands in these thinges, as yf nothing els were to be done (for that wherein a thing standes conteynes it), you knowe you speake

vnrighteouslie, for you & I & others because we could not obserue all other thinges required, were put from preaching as from a specyall parte of our ministerye, therebye to compell vs to the other thinges, which surelie they would not haue done, yf our ministerye had stood in those thinges onelye wherein you place it./ Now whether they doe not presse these lesser thinges to much & esteeme that greater to little, our Lord will iudge, but we are partyes and should feare least their hard vsage put vs out of order, seeyng Salomon hath said that oppression makes euen a wise man mad, of which sentence I beseech you to consider wiselie./

But preaching (saie you) *is not essenceall but an accedentall, personall, qualefication./*

Accedentall & personall sometymes importes inherent & proper qualetyes & are not directlye opposite to essentiall in euery sense thereof./

But by other tearmes of casuall and accedentall ornament after added, you showe your self to meane an accessarye & not necessarye facultie, which words yf you had onelie vsed might haue gyuen you light inough to showe theire owne falshood, for asmuch as at the ordinacyon of euerye elder according to the Church of England the Bishop requireth of him both guiftes to teach & a promise of doyng it, noe mencyon being then made of mariage, burying, churching of women, or the rest of your addicions, nor of the oath of obedience. Beside you knowe that the readyng of homilies beying intended for a supplie of preachinge & the inioyning of such pastors as could not preach to provide at the leaste monthlie sermons doth manifestlye showe that oure Church did euer hould preaching not a casuall ornament but a necessarye facultye in a pastor./ And soe all our learned divines though favorers of the state haue written, & preachers taught, in that Church./

But you instance:

There be manye hundreds in the land true ministers accordyng to the English cannon which neyther do nor can preach, therefore preaching is not essencyall or necessarye./ * Mr Robinson

*ANSWER Howe manie hundreds I knowe not, but I suppose the ages to come will hardlie beleiue that so shamefull a botch could be in cure so long & not be cured./

But to your argument I answere that it is a fallacye, a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter./

For yf by *true ministers accordyng to the canon* you meane such as the canon allowes as able & sufficyent to take cure of soules, as wherevnto the guifte of preaching is not necessarye, you then lett your tongue speake & aske your heart noe leaue, but yf by true ministers you meane that they are counted in some sense, & so true,† that their actions & administrations in prayer & the sacramentes maie not be abhorred or counted merelie voyd, then you speake truth but lose your argument, seyng you knowe that preaching maie still be held essencyall or necessarye to the function of the ministerye, though the want of it doe not to all purposes destroye the ministerye, as the memorye is necessarye to man, the want whereof doth not vtterlie deface him or denie the name of man to him./

[† For as *nullum* is sometymes *irritum* sometymes onely vnperfect, so *verum* is sometymes perfect, sometymes *existens*.]

If you yet trauayle vpon the word essencyall as perhaps you will, you must remember that essenceall is eyther simplie soe, as without which a thing cannot be, or in a sorte soe, as without which a thing cannott be entire or good./

In the course of your argument you seemed to intend no more by essencyall but that which was necessarylie required, opposed to a casuall ornament./

If from essencyall in that sense you slip to essencyall in another sence, as it maie importe a thing simplie necessarye, then do you but plaie the sophister vnder the ambiguitie of words & withall bring your self into a newe laborinth./

For yf you hould the guifte of preaching to be simplie essencyall to the minister's office then cannott the minister's office be without it nor it without the minister's office for an houre, so a man cannott haue the guifte of preaching vnles he be a minister, & he that is once the minister of a flocke must euer be able to preach, for yf euer by sicknes or other occasion he be disabled to preach, his office by this rule is voyd, inasmuch as nothing can stand without that which is simplie essencyall to it, noe not for a moment, by which absurdities you maie be moued to see that the

guifte of preaching is not essencyall to the office of the ministerye in such a meaning, but rather that it is essencyall to the office as a most necessarye facultie in him that shalbe an able & a worthie minister./

And yf you come once to this, you come first to that which the Church of England professeth, namelie that though the vnpreaching ministers be in some sense true ministers & not simplie priuate persons, haueing that publique admittance to the Churches service which makes them externallye & in the eye of the Church ministers or seruantes thereof, so as theire actions are not meerelye voyd as of men vncalled, yett they are not worthye or sufficyent ministers, because they want that guift & abilitie of preaching which is as essencyall, materiall, or necessarye to an elder as the vse of his senses or memorye to a man./

Wherefore, yf you be beaten out of the ambiguitye of these two words, *true & essencyall*, & from that sophisme which is *a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*, this blowen argument (as a bladder pricked) falleth flatt./

* Mr Robinson

And this alone (which I desire maie be well considered) shewes howe vtterlie vnlawfull, & so all communion with it, the office of the ministerye in England is, whereof preaching is no essencyall parte, but a casuall or accidentall ornament which, whether it come or come not, makes nothing to the beyng or essencyall constitucyon of the ministerye accordyng to which we must iudge of it./

*Answer

The poynt which you desire to haue well considered is worthie of it, for it will shew a marveylous want of iudgment or of sinceritie in you, euen in you that take so much vpon you, for you assume that to the constitucyon of a minister in England preaching *makes nothing essencyallye*, that is necessarilye, but is a casuall ornament, in which eyther you playe the sophister vnder couert of phrases (of which before) or els you plaie the beare, which enraged with hunger flies vpon anie thinge she meetes, whether it serue for praye or not./

For what aduised man durst saie as you doe, knowing that the verie forme of constituting ministers which that Church obserueth, thorowe which you once passed, doth point out this

dutye of preaching as the most specyall of the elder's function not onelie by the scriptures selected for that end to be then read, as Act. 20 & 1. Tim. 3. 1, but in the Bishop's premonityon to him that is to be ordeyned & charge imposed vpon him in the very ordinacyon it self to preache the word of God, &c./

Nowe yf you still obiect a contrarye tolleracyon, whether it came by necessitye of tymes or negligence of men or both, it is nothing to the constitucyon of the Church *by which* (you saie) *one ought to iudge./*

Fynallie, I invert your argument thus, The feedyng which Christ enioyned his pastors is by preaching his doctrine & gouerning his people, but such is the feedyng of the ministerye of St. Andrewes, therefore it is such as Christe hath inioyned & consequentlie such as you sinne to forsake, much more to condemne as you doe./

Now, haueyng followed the threed of your argument strictlie to the end of it, lett me turne backe to showe you the printes of your feete, by which you maie consider their need of washing./

**1. You vndertooke to speake onelie of St Andrewes Church where you knowe there is an excellent ministerye. What made you leape ouer that pale sett vp by your consent & fall into a course after the poore halting ministerye of other places. Was this place to hott for your conscyence, when you came to oppose the ministerye therof, or had you hope to couer your separation from so holye & reuerend a ministerye by an outcrye made against the hundreds of ignorant or careles fellowes in other places, as Florus [1] hid his owne oppression of the Iewes vnder complainte of their mutinies./ Mr Robinson, Mr Robinson, beleiue it, the Lord Iesus will not put vp the high scorne you haue cast vp against his worthye seruantes and ordinances, though you crie out neuer so lowd or iustlie of other men's vnworthines! Our God will not be thus deluded./

**2. What meane you to come in with this correction, (*or rather the preisthood of St Andrewes./*)? For yf you take preisthood as the booke of ordinacyon doth, it is no more then eldership, beyng deryued from the Greeke *Presbuter*, & then your *or rather*, &c., is such a correction, as yf one haueyng said ghost (should saie) or rather spiritt, which is the same./

[1] Gessius Florus, procurator of Judaea, A.D. 64–65.

But if you meane vnder another scornefull sense, which the popish preistes haue purchased to that word to vilifie the Lord's ministerye, as it appeares you doe, your sinne is not little, your repentance hath need be great./

And what meane you to compare the forme of devine seruice prescribed to the daylie sacrifize of the popish masse preistes that vndertake to offer a daylie & propiciatory sacrifice for sinnes? Do you thinke that whatsoeuer is hatefull is fitt for you to speake, or vs to heare, be it neuer so iniurious ?/ Or doe you forgett that railers, as well as murtherers, are debarred the kingdome of God ? Or do you not knowe that this is rayling ?/ **3.

Whye talke you also to vs of the oath of cannonicall obedience, which in England is limitted to althinges good and lawfull, & yett ympose vpon euery proselite admitted to your comunion a protestation against all those Churches with which you haue nothing to doe ? Is not this as much as the oath of cannonicall obedience ? **4.

[Mr Iohnson's congregation, if not your owne, are sayd to require it./]

Your next argument to proue the ministerye of St Andrewes not to be that which Christ hath left in his Church is from respecte of the calling, which I will sett downe and a[n]swere by peices, as it lyes./

Thus much for the office, nowe followes the entrance./

An vnlawfull entrance or calling into an office makes the administracyon of it & comunion in it vnlawfull. Numbers 16. 40; Ioh. 10. 1. 9; Heb. 5. 4. 5; 1. Tim. 5. 22./ * Mr Robinson

Your proposicyon is not vniuersallye true & therein sophisticall, while you affirme that of euerye vnlawfull entrance, which is onely true of some./ *Answer

Some thinges are vnlawfull wholly so as they make a meere nulletye of the action, as to marye another man's wife, or within the degrees of blood prohibited./

Some thinges are vnlawfull in parte onelie, when anie branch of the lawe is broken which makes a fault in the action but not a nulletye of it, as for a man to marye with a notorious vnchast woman./

Where a nulletye is in the action there the administration or execution of anie calling is vnlawfull toties quoties as in the case of incestious mariage./

Nor can anie repentance for the sinne committed in the entrance legitimate the execution, because the first action is voyd./
But where the faulte is in parte onelie, it doth not passe into the administracyon, but restes in that one act of entrance. Hence it is that a man which hath vnlawfully maried with an vnchast woman, maye yett lawfullye vse his vnlawfull mariage. So in case of magistracye, yf a man simplie vsurp his administracyon [he] is in euerye acte sinnefull, because he hath no calling. But yf a man be corruptlie called, his entrance is vnlawfull, but not soe his administration, beyng entred, because the lawfullnes of administracion followes simplie the calling of the lawfullnes of the calling./
Your proposition therefore beyng indefinite or vniuersall of euerye vnlawfull entrance is false, nor do your proofes make it good, whereof but one toucheth the matter, that is Numb. 16. 40, *That no stranger which is not of the seede of Aaron come neare to offer incense before the Lord, that he be not like to Korathe & his company.* This place proues well that both administration and comunion therein is vnlawfull, where there is a meere vsurpacyon of the ministerye as was in Korath. For when God had once ordeyned the sonnes of Aaron alone to that ministerye & absolutelie precluded all others, none elles could enter the function howe well soeuer qualified otherwise./ But what is this to an entrance not simplie but in some respectes vnlawfull, as all our actions are in the sight of God vnpure, yet not ympurities. Bring a scripture to proue the administration of Aaron's sonnes & comunion with them to haue beene vnlawfull, when such of them entred the office as were not qualefyed with that knowledge and sanctetye which God required in the preistes (whose intrance therefore was in some sorte vnlawfull, though not as this other vtterlie and to all intentes voyd), and then you speake to the pointe, els you trifle and compare thinges vnlike./
Your second place out of Ioh. 10. 1 & 9 is cleane without the circle, haueing noe word in it that touches the externall calling or entrance of the ministers, for Christ (alluding to the fashion of that tyme & countrye where they housed their sheepe by night for safetye & lead them out in the daie to pasture, the shepheard goyng in & out first) sayth, verse 1, that he that enters not by the dore but clymes another waye is a theife, & in the 9 verse,

that he himself is the dore, &c., meaning to showe that he is both the dore by which the sheepe (his electe) goe in for protection & out to finde pasture, that is comfort to their soules, & also that he is the dore or passage by which all true shepheards of his sheepe goe in and out before his sheepe to lead them, that is, they desire to knowe nothing among the sheepe but Christ crucyfyed & teach the people of God noe other dore or waie vnto life but the Lord Iesus, & yf anie man beate out an other waie to the sheepe then this, he is a robber, which not haueing the dore opened vnto him clymes in at the windowe. This place then will proue that yf anye man preach anye other way of saluation but by the Lord Iesus, he is as a theife stollen in vpon the flocke to doe mischeife, he is noe shephard./

Now what is this to the purpose, yea rather how much against you, & howe fitt to proue the ministery of St Andrewes to be entred by the dore, which preaches (for saluation) nothing but the Lord Iesus & that with great sinceritye & evidence of the holye Ghost, your conscyence beyng witnes./

Your third place of Heb. 5. 4. 5 showes that as noe man did (that is lawfully) take the office of the preisthood vpon him, except he were called of God as Aaron was, verse 4,/ & that Christ was called to be oure high preist, verse 5,/ what inferre you from hence ? that a man must haue even in euerye point such a particuler calling from God to the ministerye as Aaron had, because it is said as Aaron ? Yf so, then no preist after his tyme was lawfullye called. Yf you meane that a man must haue a calling from God, it is graunted, but yf you thinke he hath noe calling from God whoe in his calling varyeth at all from the prescription of God, then you misse as before, confoundyng those thinges which are simplie necessarye with those which are onelye comodious and requisite./

Or, yf you intend thereby to proue that a man entring other or otherwise then God would haue him sinneth, take you that also, but yf you thinke it will followe that therefore all his administracyon is vnlawfull, & soe communion with him, you againe mistake./ For what saie you to the administration of those preistes which vndertooke the holie seruice of the Lord, the office of Aaron, to serue theire owne bellyes ? did they enter lawfully or

was their administracyon to all intentes vnlawfull & so comunion with them ?/

Your last place is 1. Tim. 5. 22, wherein Paul sayth to Tymothie, *Ley hands suddenlie on noe man neyther be partaker of other men's sinnes./*

I mervayle at your libertye in cyteyng the holye Scripture, for what's this to your purpose ?/

Tymothye shall sinne yf he laye hands rashlie on anie man (that is) to ordeyne anie minister & make himself partaker with their sinnes that do soe or with the sinne of him that vnworthelie seekes that office, what then ? Therefore yf anie man enter sinnefullye his administration is vnlawfull or comunion with it. Howe hanges this together ?/

Perhaps you meane that in comunion with a minister that enters sinnefullye a man must needs sinne. Verelie, yf he commune with him in the sinne of his entrance, that is help to committ it, abett it, or allowe it, as Tymothye must haue done in laying on his hands rashelie; but to thinke that he that comunicates with him in the administration of the Lord's holie thinges doth sinne, is a strange imagination without ground./

Paul to Tymothye settes downe what ministers should be admitted. I demand [?] yf anye covetous person, or contentious, or ill husband to his wife, or yong scoller were admitted, whether the entrance of that man should be lawfull, yea or noe ? You must saie noe./

I aske then whether yf such a man preached Christ though for gaine or envye his administration should defile me ? & I thinke you will saie noe. I am sure Paule would who reioyceth that Christ was preached of some though of envie./

Finallye, you are not well advised to make comunion in the administracion vnlawfull, where the administracyon it self is vnlawfull not in the kinde thereof but in that minister's person, for some respectes./ For by this it must followe, that the ordinances of God shalbe lawfull or vnlawfull to the people of God not according to the Lord's institucyon & theire owne holie vse of them, but according to the minister's vprightnes or worthines & sincerityе in his entrance and administration./ Your assumption followes thus:

But the waie or entrance into the ministerye is vnlawfull & a by path as will appeare yf we compare it with that holye and high waie which the Scriptures open for all the ministers of the Lord to passe by, which is the free voluntarye choise & election of that particuler charge wherein they are to minister. Numb. 1 [?]. *8. 9. 10; 1. Sam. 7; Ezek. 33. 2; Act. 1. 15. 23. & 6. 2. 3. 4. & 14. 23; 2. Cor. 8. 19; Tit. 1. 5, &c./* * MR ROBINSON

If a man graunted your minor, yett were your argument naught, vnles the entrance you speake of were to all intents vnlawfull & voyd, seyng as hath beene shewed not euerye vnlawfulnes in the entrance makes the administration vnlawfull, but onelye such a one as makes a nulletye, which is rather noe entrance then an vnlawfull entrance, yf one speake properlye./ *ANSWER

But lett vs see howe well you proue your assumption./

Everye entrance other then by the free choyse of the people is vnlawfull saie you, *but such is the entrance of the present ministerye of St. Andrewes in Norwich* (*for of it wee speake*), *therefore it was vnlawfull./* [M ROBINSON]

To proue euerye entrance other then by the free choise of the people to be vnlawfull, you alledge manie textes, *by all & euerye of which* you saie *it appeares that the officers of the Church of God were not onelye called & appointed to their ministerye in the face and presence of the particuler congregations wherein they were to serue, but also by their free choise and election./* I looked for a lawe and you gyue me an example, yea to proue that it is vnlawfull to be otherwise then thus, you proue that it was lawfullye thus vsed; as yf a man would proue that it is not lawfull for vs to weare shorte garmentes as we doe, because it appeareth that the people of God vsed long ones, or that we maye not make oure feastes at dinner because they made theires at supper, or maie not giue a certeyne pension to maynteyne a minister because the tythes of the Iewes & contributions of the Christian Churches were vncerteyne./ [ANSWER]

If it be said these cases are not like, that saie I must be proued, or els it is as easilye denied as said. At least this will serue to showe that the argument from examples alone is not a rule of prescription./

But it maie be the places alleaged by you doe not euerye of them so much as showe such a president, much lesse that such a thing must euer be./

The first place is, Numbers 8. 9. 10, which proues not that the Levites were appoynted by the free choise & election of the people, but contrarilye that God first elected them, vers. 6, to that seruice, and then appoynted the people to showe their acceptance of his ordinance by puttyng their hands vpon the Levites' heads, &c./ Nor was this a successiue act of the particuler congregations in which the Levites serued successiuelie, but one acte of the whole collectiue state of Israell once for all./

So it houlds neyther in the poynt of a particuler congregacyon, nor of free election, but of approbation, these ceremonyes beyng enioyned the people that they might knowe that these were ministers nowe assigned vnto them of God, sayth Peter Marter. 1. Sam: 7./

[1. Sam. 7.] The second place is nothing at all of free election but of Eleazer's consecracyon (a person elected by God's lawe) by the vse of such legall ceremonies as God had appoynted. Nor was this for the seruice of one particuler congregacyon, but of all that should resort vnto the arke of God, which had noe hand in the consecracion of this preist, who yett was to minister vnto them as well as to the men of Chireath Iearim, who consecrated him. And in that poynt is this place also against you, and showes that a man maye lawfully administer to such as chose or call him nott, yf this were a choise or calling of Eleazer to the ministerye, as you take it./

Your third place of Ezechiel 33. 2 is les to the matter, for the speech is not of a spirituall watchman chosen by the people to watch ouer their soules as you (hungry of proofes) doe take it, but of a watchman sett vppon the guard of the cittye as sentinell, who was worthye to dye yf he did not discouer the enemie's approaches; from which the Lord takes a similitude to informe the prophett that likewise he should die yf he giue nott warning to the people, over which (not the people but) God himself without the people had made him a watchman, verse 7./

Your fourth place is Act. 1. 15. 23 which showes that vppon the Appostle Peter's speech vnto the brethren there assembled they

presented two, wherof one was to succeed into Iudas his place, but the 24. 25. 26 verses showe that they did not choose that one, but by prayer besought God to showe which of these twoe he had chosen, who answered them by guydyng the lott vpon Mathias. Soe farre is this place from proveing the people's choise, that it showes the choise of God not of the people as was necessarye in the calling of an Appostle, which must be from God & not of men. Wherefore this place also is ill cyted, for as the choise was God's & not the people's, so the seruice he was chosen for was not proper to that assemblie which (you saie) chose him, but vniuersall to all the Churches as of an Appostle. And yett you alleadge this to proue that a particuler congregation must choose that minister that is to serue it./

Your 5th place is Act. 6. 2. 3. 4, which is not of elders but of deacons in whose election the Appostles themselues would haue noe hand because there was a murmuring against their administracyon, as yf they had beene parciall in disposing the Church almes, wherefore to remoue all suspicion they aduise the brethren to choose out from among themselues fitt persons, &c. Out of which I suppose you will not inferre that the minister maie haue noe hand in the election of a deacon because the Appostles had none in the very acte of this election, and yett this aswell as anie thinge maie be vrged from theire example./

Secondlye, this is an example onelie which makes not a lawe & was occasioned by a particuler reason. Besides that the same place shewes, first, that till this change the Appostles did execute that care themselues which were not elected thereto by the people. And 2^{lie}, that vpon an inconvenience obserued this newe order was made; in which 2 circumstances the place is against you, the former shewing that this office maie possiblie be administred by other then such selected deacons, the latter that matters of externall forme (not simplie prescribed) maie be altered vpon occasion to the better. "2.

Finallye, yf this example bynde, it byndeth to the number of vij deacons in euerye congregacyon, because the Appostles require so manie, which point I suppose you neyther obserue nor require, and therefore must loose the benefitt of that testimonye to which you stand not, as the lawyers saie./

Your 6 place is Act. 14. 23, where oure translacyon sayth, *And when they* (*Paule and Barnabas*) *had ordeyned them elders by election in every cittye, &c.*, where you seeme to haue a faire example of elders ordeyned by election. But herein the translacyon hath mislead you, for the originall it self hath not the word election in it, and yett vpon that is all your buildinge framed. You will saie the word χειροτονέω there vsed doth signifie to ordeyne by election or suffrage, as the etymologye of τὴν χεῖρα τείνω showes. To which I answere, first, that though the word in his originall signification importe to electe & ordeyne by liftyng vp of hands or suffrage, yett in comon vse it also signifies to ordeyne without anie suffrage of hands or election, like as the word elder originallye signifies an elderlie man, yett in vse came to signifie an officer, though he were a verye younge man, as Timothie was./

And besides that, Budeus in his commentaryes & Stephen in his Thesaurus of the Greeke tongue showe you sundrie examples where this word signifies simplie to create or ordeyne without suffrage. You shall understand that it is vsed in the Scriptures to signifie ordeyning where noe suffrage or election could be adioyned, as Act 10. 41, where it is said, not to all the people, but to vs the witnesses (προκεχειροτονημένοις) foreordeyned of God, &c. I am sure you will not saie God foreordeyned them witnesses by election or liftyng vp of men's hands, & yett there is the verye same word χειροτονέω, which in this place you build vpon, onelye compounded with a preposition which makes (to this pointe) noe difference at all./

Moreouer, when the word is vsed to signifie creation by suffrage or election, there (for ought I knowe) it is referred to those persons in whome the suffrage doth lye, not vnto others that vse their suffrage. But in this place it is not said of the churches but of Paule & Barnabas (χειροτονήσαντες) ordeyning elders vnto them, &c., makeyng this ordinacyon to be the acte not of the seuerall Churches, but of Paule & Barnabas, which showes that in this place the word must importe ordination by their authoritye, not election by the Churches themselues; and then this place is as dyrectlie against you as anie could be alleadged./ But yf a man gaue you this place freelie as showing the election of theis ministers by the people, what had you wonne but an approued

example, which proueyng that such a course is lawfull (of which no man doubtes) will not inforce that it is perpetuallye necessarye as you assume./ Finally, yf we must fetch all from examples of those tymes, then from this example will followe that a particuler congregacyon hath not the sole power of ordeyning her officers, in as much as Paule & Barnabas which were no standing members of these churches ordeyned (though by election) the ministers thereof. So you lose in the shiere what you winne in the hundred./

Your 7 place of 2. Cor. 8. 19, speaking (not of elders or anye standing ministerye, but of a brother whose praise was in the Ghospell, appoynted to accompanie St Paule in carying the Churches' benevolence to Ierusalem) saith *that this brother was also chosen of the Churches*, vseing againe the word χειροτονέω, which beyng affirmed of the Churches maie seeme to importe an election by suffrage, yett yf I maie speake what I thinke, I take it not to importe so much, but onelie the Churches to whome Paule did recomend him, had gyuen their consent, & so had ordeyned him, not by puttyng it to scrutenye, hands, or voyces, whether he or another, but allowing him onelie. Otherwise he must haue beene put to newe election at euerye particuler Church, which had beene to so worthie a man a greate dyspargement & noe little slacking of the busines. Nowe yf you graunt that approbation of him was a good assignement & in stead of an election, then followes that the people's approbation of a mininster presented to them or imposed on them maie be called as well as this a choosing of him, & where are you then ?

But take it as yf this brother was put vpon a newe election at euerye Church (which is absurd to thinke) & that by free election of eche he had beene chosen, will this proue that no minister maie be ordeyned to anie service of anie particuler Church but by election of that Church ? Will an affirmatiue example in one kinde make a negatiue lawe in all kindes of ministeryes ? Yea, that you maie out of this place see howe poorelye you reason from this example, consider that the Appostle doth appointe & send this brother ordeyned by other Churches not to be likewise elected by the Church of Corynth, but to be accepted of them as a man worthye to be trusted with their almes, seing his praise

was in the Ghospell and other churches had (by their assent) appointed him thereto. So then to the Church of Corinth he was in this to minister as well as to others, and yett was not committed to the pleasure of their election but imposed or commended onelye. He instances ill that bringes an instance directlie against his cause as you in this haue done.

[a] Verse 16, &c. Moreouer, yf you had not beene to much transported you might in the verye same chapter [a] haue obserued that Titus without election of anye Church, at Paule's intreatie or rather of his owne inclination was sent or went to Corinth and did vndertake the self same kinde of ministration for which the Appostle there giues him honor. So this place showes against you, that a man maie be appointed to doe & maie doe service to a particuler congregacyon both lawfully and honorablie, though he be not elected by the same congregacyon therevnto, vnles you will condem Titus whome Paul comends./

Your last place is Titus 1. verses 5. 6, *For this cause left I the in Creta that thou shouldest redresse things amiss & ordeyne elders in every cittye, as I appoynted the.* As one appealed from King Phillip sleeping to King Phillip wakeing, so doe I from Mr Robinson to Mr Robinson touching this place, for soe farre is this from poyntyng out the election of the Churches, that it onelie speakes of the ordinacion be trusted to Titus, the evangelist, — to Titus not to the Churches. Nor doth he here vse the word χειροτονέω as Act 14 but another whereto you can make no such pretence.

[καὶ καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους.]

And, indeed, this place is rather against the election of the people then for it, in asmuch as Paul professeth to haue lefte Titus in Creta as to ordeyne ministers, so to redresse the thinges amisse. Wherefore, yf you will not siae he must haue the consent of the people or leaue thinges vnredressed, neyther maie you saie he was to ordeyne ministers by their election or to ordeyne none./

But you alleadge this place, as yf Paul had not written to Titus but to the Churches of Creta to ordeyne their owne ministers [by their election, or to ordeyne none].[1] So credulous a thing

[1] In the MS. the words, ' by their election or to ordeyne none,' have been crossed out.

is a strong conceit, that it seemeth to possesse what it desires, [Iudges 5.] as Siserar's mother reckoned of conquest in her sonnes ouerthrowe. I conclude then that neyther anye one nor all the places doe proue that which you said was proued by all & euerye of them, yea that some of them do soe manifestlie disproue it, as I should wonder you could so much mistake, saueyng that it is more wonder that anie man sees the truthe then that manie are blinded & see it not./

It remaines onelie that I invert this argument vpon you in this manner, Yf so be sundrie ministers & ministeryes haue lawfullye serued extraordinarye and ordinarye to those particuler congregacions by which they were nott elected, then the free election of the congregacion is not simplie necessarye./

But sundrie ministers & ministeryes extraordinary & ordinarye haue lawfully serued such congregacyons as did not elect them./

Therefore the free election of the particuler congregacyons is not simplie necessarye to the constitution of a lawfull ministerie./

The consequence of the maior is cleare./

The minor, or assumption, is manifest not onelye in the extraordinarye callinges of prophettes, Appostles, and evangelistes, which had no callyng by the election of those congregacyons to which they were sent; but in the ordinarye callinges, aswell in the ould Testament as in the newe, for none of the preistes or Levites had their particuler ordinacyon or callinge from the particuler congregacyons, especyallye not the high preistes which administred to all the tribes, but succeeded ordinarylie, or was extraordinarelye put in by the civill maiestrate as Zadock by Salamon withoute the people's election./

And so David disposed the preistes and Levites into orders of ministracion; Iehoiada the high preist appoynted officers, &c., in the minoritye of Ioash, 2. Chron. 23. 18; Iehosophat settes of the preistes & Levites for the Iudgment & cause of the Lord, 2. Chron. 19. 8. 9; Hezekia commaundes (without asking the people's good will) the preistes vnto their dutyes, 2. Chron. 29. 4. 5. 11, ordeyned the courses of the preistes and Levites, cap. 31. 2, after the people were gone home, verse 1, & tooke order for their maynteynance (not by consent but) by commaund, verse 4, & all this well and vprightlye, verse 20; Iosiah sett the

preistes & Levites in their charges, 2. Chron. 35. 2. 3. 4, &c.; nor onelie the kinges of Iuda, of whome some of your leaders haue said they did this as figures of Christ [a] (which yf it were true is yett to the poynt nowe in question no help), but euen the heathen princes that reigned ouer them, and speciallye the Romanes that put in and out their highe preistes at their pleasure without consent of the people or nation,[b] who yett were iustlye reputed the true preistes of the Lord & are soe esteemed by some of your side,[c] in as much as theye were of the posteritye of Levye, though not of Aaron./

In the newe Testament Peeter & Iohn not as Appostles but as delegates were sent by the Church of Ierusalem to Samaria vncalled. Acts 8. 14. And so Barnabas to Antioch, Actes 11. 12, to which Church he after ministred till God specyallye called him awaye, 13. 1. 2, & this not by divine instincte as he was called thence, but at the first by the Church of Ierusalem after (as it maie seeme) by his owne zeale./

Paule leaues Titus in Creta & Timothy to Ephesus (not by their election but) by his owne authoretie & gyues them order to ordeyne the ordinary ministers without anye mencyon of taking or seeking the people's consent therein. Titus is vsed not in the evangelistes office of teaching, but in the matter of gathering for Ierusalem by Paul's appoyntment & his owne consent, not by election of the Church. 2. Cor. 8. 16./

If you replie that these were extraordinarye ministeryes, I answere that so were some of those examples which you alleadged, as that of Mathias, Act. 1, of that brother 1. Cor. 8; and secondlie that all myne are not extraordinarye./

If you reply that the Appostles beyng interessed in all Churches might send ministers to doe service there without the people's election, you then graunt the cause, namelie that a ministerye hath beene sett lawfullye ouer some Churches without election thereof & consequentlie maie be againe./

Att the least this is wonne, that seeyng you argue onelye from examples, & I haue brought examples also against you, that therefore the thinge be less indifferent in it self to be swayed by other accessorye cyrcumstances, both waies beyng lawfull &

[a] Brownes treatise of reformation without tarrying; Barrow against Gifford.[1]]

[b] [Joseph, Philo Judaeus, Eusebius, Zonaras & Cedrinus show.]

[c] [Vide Renferrium (Rhenferd) Tom. 2 de pontific. Israeliticis, pag. 833 et 846.]

[1] Barrowe's book is entitled *A Plaine Refutation*, 1591.

neyther simplie necessarye, as the contrarietie of approued examples manifests vnto vs./
Nowe haueing answered your scriptures lett vs see your reason subioyned to confirme the same proposition./

And good reason why the Church should both well knowe & freelie approue her ministers to whome she is to committ her self, soules, & bodyes, a most precious treasure purchased with the blood of Christe./ * Mr Robinson

Knowledg & free approbation maie fall to those Churches which haue not the power of free election, which you seeme to confound, but taking your meaning to be (as it is) of free election, I answere, that yf it be verye good reason it should be soe yet followes it not, that this is the onelye lawfull waie of the Lord, or that where a thing is not done after the best manner, there it is not done at all./ *Answer

It is good reason that in choise of magistrates the first respect should be to the feare of God & wisdome more then to byrth or wealth, but yf men crosse this good reason, is the choise void ? Is not such a maiestrate God's ordinance ?/ **1

Secondly, this good reason of youres is not simplie good nor allwayes, for what yf the Churches be infected with error, distracted with faction, cannott accord in their election, be partiallye caryed to an ill choise (which thinges haue often fallen oute), is it not, then, as good reason that a ministerye well knowne & approued by others that can iudge be sett ouer them, as it is good reason to bynde a distracted person ? Verelye sundrye of the best reformed Churches haue thought it fitt to limmitt the people's freedome, confining their election (or rather approbacyon) to such persons as the ministerye haue first approued, rather then to put all vpon theire discretion. And though the first Churches did necessarilye carrye this busines by the people's free assent, when by reason of persecution they could not doe otherwise, yett found they so manye inconveniences as they tooke the first oportunetie of restreyning the same by decrees, which newe remedye in tyme proued a newe mischeife, as all thinges maie doe by sinn [?] and corruption./ **2. [† After the Appostles' tymes.]

Thirdlie, I would knowe howe farre this goode reason extends it **3

self, whether to all those soules & bodyes of which the ministerye taketh charge, or but to some. If you saie to some onelie, then your rule breakes, for when Christ hath equally purchased all, & all are to be serued by that ministerye, it should followe that all must choose their minister freelie, that is by their owne likeyng & consent, one aswell as another./

If all must haue hand in election then women, seruantes, children (beyng comunicantes), for these haue soules & bodyes purchased by the blood of Christ & are members of the Church./

Yf you like not this you abandon your principle & are gone, and yf you replie that wyves, children, & seruantes giue their consent in their husbands, fathers, & masters, then you confesse that a free election of all the members of the Church is not necessarelie executed by their particuler persons, but maie be done by committies. Yf so, then by more or fewer, & then whye not by a fewe put in trust ? which is the case of the English Churches, which by consent of Parliament haue submitted themselues to the present order of election, & ordination by the patron & Bishop, reteyning to themselues onelie a negatiue power, in case the person so chosen be not legallye qualefied.

Finallye, yf this reason be simplie good & necessarye then noe minister is lawfullye called vnles all the soules he takes charge of doe both well knowe him & freely approue his election. So when the greater parte chooses one whome the lesser parte would not haue, this minister is a lawfull minister onelye to that parte which freely consented to his choise, vnlawfull to that parte vpon which (by multitude of other men's voyces) he is imposed sore against their wills./

Doe you not see whither these conceytes will dryue you, to what absurdetyes & extremityes ? for you will not saie (I suppose) that a minister chosen by the greater parte is not a lawfull minister to the lesser. You cannott saie the lesser chose him freelye, for they stroue against him hartelie, nor can you saie they consented freelye to his choise albeit they had yeilded the election to the greater parte, for this is but in a sorte & not simplie a free consent. And yf this will serue, then all the Churches in England maie be said to haue chosen freelye, in as much as they haue submitted to the lawes, which order the elections of the minis-

ters as they nowe stand. So, then, eyther you must vngraple or sinke with vs, for you cannott saie that waie is the ordinance of God more then this, God haveing mercifullye lefte the particuler fashion at libertie, that the Churches might serue themselues of one or another manner for their greatest commoditye. And you verelye are too masterlye when you take vpon you to bynde the spouse of Christe where her Lord hath left her free./

I conclude therefore, that neyther the scriptures aleadged nor your reason haue confirmed this proposition, that the Lord's waye by which the ministerye must enter is the free election of the people, which yf you had proued, it would haue showed that a sinne is committed by breach vpon the Churches libertye, but not the ministery thus imposed is therefore simplie vnlawfull; or that the Churches might not lawfullye eate the good meate that is minced & put into theire mouthes, because they are not suffered to carue it for themselues, as were convenient. Nowe lett vs examyne your assumption touching St Andrewes./

But the waye by which the ministers of St Andrewes enter is not the playne waye of the Lord but the crooked path of a Lord Bishop's ordinacion & approbacyon & of a patron's presentacyon, yea whether the people will or noe. * Mr Robinson

The byas of humane corruption maie drawe men wrong euen in the streightest alley, but the cause is then in the byas, not in the waye. Nowe howe crookedlye some patrons present & Bishops sometymes admitte should not be remembred without greife, nor can be denyed without impudencye, but to showe that this is the fault of the men, not of the order, it ought to be considered that some patrons doe present & the Bishopps sometymes admitt farre worthier men then even a good people would chuse for themselues, and while you seeme to immagine the path of populer election to be so right on, you admire [?] that you knowe not, consider not, what hath beene & seeme to thinke anie thing better then that which is present, which is noe point of wisedome./ *Answer

But to passe by that, I marvayle howe a man professing sincerityе, as you doe, could force his conscyence so farre as to saie, that the ministery of St Andrewes came not in by the Lord's plaine waye of election, seyng you knowe the minister therof is

freelye chosen by the congregacyon not by the patron nor by the Bishop. And yf you replie the Bishop must gyue his approbacyon, I answere the confirmacyon of the Bishop denyes not free election to the people, no more then to the patrone. But you thinke it a small matter to confound theis two faculties, as one should saie the knightes of Parliament are not freelye chosen, because the kinge confirmes the election./

But to carye this vntruthe you obiect it to your self & offer a defense sayinge:

* Robinson *Yf it be answered that St Andrewes hath the choise of her ministers, I doe instance that the libertye it hath nothing helpeth, all thinges beyng rightly considered./*

*Answer If it be truelye answered that St Andrewes hath the choise of her ministers, then is your assumption false, and your argument against that ministerye (in respect of the entrance therof) vtterlye outgrowne, but you tell vs it helpeth not. Indeed, if to enter by that waie which euen nowe you said was the high and holie waye of the Lord will not help, what help then ? what will please you ? verelye nothing helps to perswade, when men resolue to be perswaded by nothing, but why helps it not ?

* Mr Robinson *For first St Andrewes is not that Church of Christe, that heauenlie Ierusalem, which Christe hath enfranchised with that and the like liberties. It is not a people separated & sanctefied from the world into holye covenant with God, but a confused asemblie, & so in that confusion hath her self receyued noe power from Christe, & so can gyue none to anye other./*

*Answer All this graunted would not vphould your assumption, which is *de facto* not *de iure*, wherein you denyed St Andrewes minister to haue entred by the free election of that Church to which he serues, for were the election voyd, yett it might be voluntarilye, which you denyed./

Secondlye, in this argument you begg the question, as yf you could not disproue the entrance of that ministerye, vnles we graunt you that assemblie to be noe true Church of Christe, which you knowe we denye, yett we confesse it is not that Church of Christ, that heauenlie Ierusalem, which is the mother of vs all,

into which no vncleane thing can enter; nor is youres at Leyden or Amstredam vnles you be the Catholike Church. But it is a small thing with you & your partie oftentymes to confound the Catholike Church,† which consistes onelie of the first borne whose names are written in heauen, & the particuler visible Churches, wherein maie be electe and reprobate, vesselles of honor & of dishonor, & so to abuse your selues. But you meane to denye that St Andrewes is anie true visible Church, saying, *It is not a people separate & sanctefied, but a confused assemblie, &c./*

This we haue disproued before, haueing shewed that howe euer there maie be in that assemblie some notorious offenders (which is more then I knowe), yett all of them are by profession separated vnto God in an holy covenant, which externall profession is that which giues the essence to a visible Church in that it is visible, as some of your owne against them selues confes./

But you confound, first, internall sanctetye, which is essencyall to euery true member of Christe, with the outward profession, which geives beyng to a visible Church in that it is visible; & secondlye, the solemnitie of declaring the covenant with the covenant it self as one should confound the kinges title or entrance to the crowne with the solemnetie of his coronation, which made him not to be king anie more then he was without it. And thus your selves confoundyng different thinges, you crye out of confusion in the Churches./

Wherefore, this instance is void & maie be thus inverted, St Andrew's is a true visible Church of Christ, therefore it hath power from Christ to elect a minister, & the election is good./

Your second reason followes, but ere we goe further lett me praye you nowe to marke, that yf all your principles be true, it is vnpossible that euer there should be true Church or true minister while the world stands, for you hould:

First, that the ministerye of Appostles & prophets & evangelistes, which were sent to plant & water sundrye Churches, is for euer ceased, which is true./

You hould that other ministerye then Christe hath ordeyned maie not be comunicated with, & this is described (saie you), Eph: 4, where (besides the former nowe expired) are onely pastors & teachers, & this is (saie you) Christes vnalterable ordinance, &c.,

[† Witnes a litle pamphlett intituled A Disscription of the Visible Church, printed 1589, where to the visible Churches are ascribed the priuiledges of the Catholick Church & a later pamphlett called Positions of a True Church, from the 20 article to 29, contrary to it selfe in other articles as 35 & the end of 39 article.]

[Mr Ainsworth's Positions concerning a True Church, article 39 in the later part of it.]

[Mr Barow his conference with Mr Egerton]

to which onelie the blessing is promised, all others (saye your fellowes) are antichristian./

You hould that there can be noe true pastors or teachers but such as be called by the free election of that Church to which they must minister./

That since the apostacye of Antichrist there can be no true Church that hath this power of calling a minister but such as is gathered by the doctrine & ministerye of the word & drawen into an holy covenant with God voluntarelye./

*Answer Nowe, yf egge & bird be distroyed, I meane Church & ministerye, as you imagine, & the one cannott be without the other, riddle & tell me which shall be first, & where we shall beginne, whether at the bird or att the egg, whether at the ministerye or at the Church? Not at the Church, for that must be gathered by a ministerye of God's appoyntment, not at the ministerye, for there can be none but pastors & teachers, & these cannott exercise a ministerye without a calling, nor haue a calling but from a true Church, which must not be compelled by the maiestrate, but gathered by doctrine of the word into a voluntarye covenant with God./ If you saie that till the Churches be gathered, there maie be another ministerye then that of Appostles, prophets, evangelistes, pastors, or teachers, then you confes Christ hath not taken order for all those kinds of ministeryes which should be needfull for the gathering together of all the saintes, contrarye to Ephe. 4, by your selues alleadged, & that there maie be some other ministery lawfullye & profitablie vsed, then he hath ordeyned, which you denye./

Looke about you well & see that you are wrapped vp in your owne cobweb, & eyther must breake it & lett the flie goe, or be swept awaie with it & her. Nowe God giue you a wise hearte to consider this well, & thus I come to your second argument:

*Mr Robinson *Secondlie, St Andrewes hath not the libertie eyther to enioye anye minister though neuer so holye, or to remoue anie though never so prophane, but at the will of the Bishop, theire & their minister's spirituall lord./*

*Answer They cannot enioye him without the Bishop's consent, therefore they did not freelye chose him. It followes not, for a man maie

choose her voluntarelye to be his wife, whome he cannott enioye without consent of others. The Lord Maior of London cannott exercise his office whether the King's Maiestie will or noe, yett the cittye hath the free choise of him. Approbacyon & election are two thinges, Sir, nor is the freedome of election taken awaye by referrence to approbacion./ Againe to saie they cannott turne of their ministers without the Bishop's consent, therefore they haue nott a free choise of him, is as one should saie, A man cannott put awaye his wife without the consent of the lawe, maiestrate, or Churche, noe not for anye faulte, therefore he had not his free choise of her, by which reason also one maie as well proue that noe member of anye Church hath his free election of his minister, because he can neyther enioye nor remove the same, but by the will of the greater parte of that congregation./

Secondly, I denie your assertion, for St Andrewes (having the right of choosing) maie by the constitucyon of the Churches of England & by course of lawe enioye anie good minister it shall choose, whether the Bishop will or noe, yf they choose such an one as is without exception in the eye of the lawe, & maie remoue anie one whether the Bishop will or noe, yf he be subiect to such exceptions as the lawes haue adiudged worthie such a punishment./

But it seemes you thinke the Churches haue no libertye, vnles without reference to anie cannons, officers, or anie others, they maie at their pleasure vnsadle their riders that should gouerne them, which libertie to the multitude of fraile men were worse then want of it, & to the ministery a miserable vasseladge, of which some of your predecessores haue had experience, your self maie & drinke as you haue brewed./ [Mr Browne and Mr Harrison & now lately (as I heare) Mr Smith.]

Thus much to your argument./

As touching the title of spirituall lord, which you marke the Bishop withall, by which also some of your sorte would proue the Bishops to be antichristian, as takeing vpon them that spirituall lordship ouer the Church which is proper to Christe. [Mr Iohnson in his 2 reason against hearing the ministers of England, page 21.]

It is needfull to beseech you not to abuse the Lord's poore people or your selues anie more with ambiguityes or captions of words as herein you doe, for because the comon vse of speech [b] calles them lords spirituall for distinction from those barones or lords [[b] As the preface of some actes of Parliament alledged by Mr Johnson.]

whose imployment is not in spirituall or ecclesiasticall affaires, you snatch at the phrase & turne it to a cleane other meaning, as spirituall lord importeth one which ruleth in the spiritt or conscyence which is proper to Christe. Nowe me thinkes you cannott but knowe that their lordship is a mere temporall honor not necessarelye anexed to their bishoprickes but distinctly superadded by the king, of whome they hould it as a seuerall thing./

Nowe to saie they are for their office spirituall & they are lords, therefore they are (in your sence) spirituall lords is a poore sophisticall tricke,† by which a man maie proue that you are also a master teacher which is proper to Christ, for you are a master & teacher, therefore you are a master teacher, or you are Iohn & you are the Baptist of your congregacyon, therefore you are Iohn the Baptist./ And yf, because noe creature maie partake Christes titles in that sense in which they are proper to him, you fansie that noe man maie beare the same titles in anie sense, I praie you take heed that noe man call you master, that your children call you not father, that you admitt no minister to be called doctor or teacher, because these be proper titles which Christ assumes to himself, forbidding all others to bear them. Indeed, he forbids all others to beare them in such a sense as he claimes them in, but not otherwise, & so in the rest./

[† *a diuisis ad coniuncta.*]

[Nat. 23. 8. 9. 10.]

Fynallye, you should knowe that the Bishops of England profes not to haue anie power of making lawes to bynd the conscyence, but ahhorre that as antichristian, nor doe professedlie vndertake in externall gouerment anie more then by lawe of the natyon is committed to them, which is noe more lording ouer the Churches then in anie forme of gouerment is gyuen to the ministers therof. Howeuer, all haue not so much put into their hands as our Bishops haue./

If in respect of their wealth & dignitie they forgett them selues, their cheifest honor, & their brethren, & take to much pompe & pride vpon them, I wish noe more to excuse their sinne therein then the pride that I haue found in myne owne hearte, but without flatterye to them I must needs saie to you, that you and your fellowes show more spirituall lordlines & masterlynes in iudginge, censuring, slightinge, dispising, & discommuning the

Churches, seruantes, people, & graces of God, then anie prelate that euer I knew or heard of excepte the pope, whose *ego sum solus* you haue turned to *nos soli sumus*, as yf God had sent Mr Iohnson & you as the fire from heauen & had on earth no true visible Church rightlie gathered & constituted in his worship but yours at Leyden & his at Amsterdam, whose members are admitted vpon a kind of defiance first made to all other the visible Churches of Christ as standing in some false worship, &c./
Came the Ghospell from you, or came it to you alone? The Lord humble your spiritt, & then your eyes shalbe opened./
Come we to your third reason:/

Thirdlie, St Andrewes is not possessed of that poore libertie it vseth by anye imediate spirituall right from Christ, as the bodye from the head, the wife from the husband, but by a symonaicall purchase from the patrone, as the most prophane assemblie (in the kingdome in which not a man feareth God) might purchase it, & so that spirituall libertye which Christ hath bought with his blood, & wherein all Christians ought to stand fast, they buy with a peece of money, committing herein simonie as great as Simon did./ *Mr Robinson

They haue not their libertye of free election immediatlye from Christ but by simonaicall purchase from the patron. Therefore, their minister entred not by their free & voluntarye election but was thrust vpon them by the patron or Bishop against their will. Is not this your argument? Is it not to confirme your assumption? Is it not impertinent theretoe? for though their election were simonaicall & voyd, yet might it be voluntarye. Many thinges make frustrate free elections, but nothing takes awaye freedom in electing but delusion or force./ *Answer
But yf it serue not to confirme your assumption for which it is brought, it maye seeme to serue your maine purpose, which is to showe the vnlawfull entrance of the minister. Lett vs therefore examine the truth & weight of it to that intent also, alwayes remembred that yf this argument haue anie strength in it, it showes that you haue weaklie affirmed the high & holie waye of the Lord for the ministers' entrance to be the free choise of that Church vnto which they doe serue, seyng nowe you finde that a

free choise is not sufficient thereto, vnles the Church hould that libertie ymediatlye from Christ, &c./

Nowe to examine the waight of your argument./ It behoueth first, to consider that ould distinction of *ius ad rem* & *ius in re*. The Church of St Andrewe hath right vnto anie libertie which Christ hath giuen everye particuler Church *eo nomine* immediatlye from Christ, but *ius in re*, or possession of all her libertyes, she hath not imediatlie nor is necessary she should haue, for though title vnto her endowmentes must euer be immediate because that title yssues onelye out of the purchase & guifte of her Lord, yett actuall possession maie admitt the mediation of an administrator & in manie thinges must, as for example, the Church hath right vnto the sacramentes as seales of her covenant with God imediatlie from Christ, & yett hath she not the vse of this right immediatly from Christ, but by the mediation of a lawfull minister. She hath right vnto the libertie of worshipping God at anye tyme or in anie place immediatlie from Christes purchase, but the exercise of this right touching the particuler tyme & place of meetyng to worship shee hath not imediatlye from him, but by mediation of the magistrate in whose dominions she is or her owne officers or orders./

So in the case of electing & ordeyning ministers, the right vnto them depends immediatlie on Christ his will & Testament, but the vse of this right is not immediate nor can be, in asmuch as not Christ himself but some forme of election or ordination doth put the Church into possession of this benefitt./

If you obiect that yet the Churches maie not (touching their possession of this right) depend vpon anie power without themselues, I answere first, that yf it be within themselues, yett it is nott immediatlye vpon Christ but in the former respect, & secondlie, that this is a meere fansie made out of your braines to cast of all interest (not of Bishops alone) but of sinods, maiestrates, or anie other then your selues in the election & ordinacyon of ministers, & is directlie contrarye to the examples which we finde in the scriptures forementioned, wherein we finde howe the Appostles & evangelistes did appointe elders to the Churches which could not haue beene in anie calling lawfull, yf your conceyte of houlding all our rightes immediatlie from Christ were true, for the

Appostles were not Christ, nor did those Churches posses their ministers immediatlie from Christ, and yett lost not their title theretoe nor changed their tenure./

And yf you will not be contentious, you must confes that election is rather a meanes of possession then eyther title or thing itself purchased by Christ, for that thing is a ministerye to attend vpon the Church. Now, as all the thinges which Christ hath gyuen vnto his Church are held immediatly vpon him, so the conveyance & possession of the thinges, yea euen of the spirituall graces, is mediate ordinarelie as of the Ghospell & sacramentes, &c., & why not ministers? But you fare as one that will not take his father's legacy at the hands of anie executor or administrator, because he hath right vnto it by his father's onelie guifte, not descerning a testator from an executor, a guifte from the administracyon./

Wheras you adde (*that the Church should stand fast in that which Christ hath purchased*), it is ill applied to this case of the manner of election, vnles you could proue that this is such a libertye as Christ hath purchased with his blood, which you ought not once to imagine, seing the contrary to this was noe parte of her bondage before his commyng, for he purchased libertie in those thinges onlye in which his people were before imbondaged, that is from sinne, death, the curse & rigor of the lawe, & yoake of externall rites & ceremonies, which were then necessarye to be obserued./

If beyond these thinges you shall tie her for conscyence' sake to obseruacyons not prescribed by him, you doe not mainteyne her libertyes, but vnder the name therof put her into bondage./

If the manner of election had beene given to the Churches to be held immediatlie vppon Christ as you suppose, & that St. Andrewes had for money bought of the vsurpacyon & incumbrance of the patron as of a false titler, this doth not make her owne title from Christ to be void, *quia vtile non tollitur ab invtile*, noe more then the true title of anie man's right is lost when he doth together with his owne conioyne & pretend such other weake titles as he has bought in for his quiet. They which buy of the Turke their libertye to worship God aright lose not the libertye which Christ hath given them therevnto./

But saie you, *this is simonie, as greate as Simon's was.*/ Simonie

& as greate as Simon's was ? Surelye eyther your eyes or myne are not matches, not myne yf this be simonye like Simon's, not youres yf it be not./ Nowe lett vs see what simonie is, & what it was in Simon of whome it is so called, & then we shall see howe like this apple is to that oyster./

[Caietan in Sum. Tho. . . . Sum. Angel. & others.][1]

Simonie is the buying & selling of a spirituall thing, sayth Caietan, or that which is anexd to a spirituall thing, saie others./

This in Simon was a desire to buy a spirituall & supernaturall facultie by sale whereof he might make money./

Nowe yf the right of presentacyon or patronage be neyther a spirituall thing in it self nor imediatlye anexed to a spirituall thing as the minister's maintenance is to his ministerye, then can it not be simonie to buy or sell it. Nowe neuer man vnderstood the right of patronage to be a spirituall thing or properlie & imediatlye anexed to a spirituall thing. And howe farre the buying of a patronage is from Simon's sinne lett vs consider./

Simon would haue bought a mere spirituall facultie. The parish of St Andrewes buy a meer externall & legall title of naming a fitt man for their choice./ Simon would haue bought this spirituall thing to make a temporall proffitt of it. These men buy a temporall thinge to reape a spirituall profitt therebye./

Simon would haue for money that which noe man can compas, baselye conceyting the heauenlye guifte./

These men buy for money that which you saie anie parish in the land might posseblie buy for money./ Nowe looke on them together & see howe they resemble one another./

To giue something for avoydance of an vniust vexacyon or impediment is held no simonie, no not in case of a benefice. The sharpest whippers of this fault neuer drewe the buying of a patronage into the note of simonie, but what will not affections doe yf through them as it were through colored glasse we shall behould thinges & soe esteeme them./

If you giue money for the place you meete to worship God in, is it simonie ? If your people gyue you money for preaching to them, praying with them, is it simonie ? If for the bread & wine

[1] This note is partly illegible. It refers to Cajetan's commentary on the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas. The reference in the third line is manifestly to the *Summa* itself.

vsed at the Lord's table the communicantes giue money, is it simonie? And yett these thinges come as neare to Simon's sinne as the buying of a patron's title, that they maye choose their owne minister./

Wherefore, this not beyng simonie, nor forfeyture or renunciation of such right as you saie Christ hath gyuen his Churches, but only a remoue of an incumbrance, it restes that the minister of St Andrew's was freelie chosen by his owne congregacyon, which you denyed, & therefore (by your owne rule) is (in respect of his entrance) a lawfull minister vnlawfullie and sinnefully forsaken of you more sinnefully traduced, of which God giue you grace to repent in tyme./

Nowe come we to your sixt & last argument for your separacion:/

Where the power of the Lord Iesus Christ for excomunication & the vse of the keyes is wanting, there I maie not stand a member or haue comunion./

[Mr]* Robinson [his vi Argument]

You doe confound the vse of the keyes & excomunication, as if they were one thing or allwayes conioyned, forgetting that by the key of knowledg & of doctrine men are lett in or shutt out of God's kingdome, bound or loosed in earth & in heauen without excomunication, whose vse is onelie to exclude the inordinate members from externall comunion with the Churches./

*Answer

Which thinges yf you still hould to be one, then must you yeild backe the key of excomunication vnto the ministers onelie, to whome (& not vnto the people) Christ committed those keyes of kingdome of heauen./

[Math. 16. 19. Ioh. 22. 23.]

But haveing noted this confusion in your proposicion lett vs see howe you proue that where excomunication wants, a man maie haue noe comunion in the worship of God./

The want of this power argues the Church not to be Christes Church, for Christ hath giuen this power to his Churche. Math. 18. 15. 16. 17./

* Robinson [It was written [by] Mr Robinson his, but should no doubt haue bene this power, & so I make it.]

I denye your consequence, for

Christ hath giuen pastors and teachers to his Church, therefore, whensoeuer theise are wanting, the Church ceaseth, or is not.

*Answer

[† 1. Cor. 3. versibus vltimis.] Christe hath giuen all † thinges to his Church, therefore yf it want anye thing, it is not his Church./

Christ hath geven sacramentes to his Church, therefore yf it want eyther of them at anie tyme by anie meanes of persecution, it is not his true Church./

God hath geven a man two eares, two eyes, two hands, two legges, therefore yf he want anie of these he is no true man. From the want of a parte to the denyall of the whole is noe good argument. Lett vs see yf the next be better./

* Robinson *It is want of a meanes of gayning sinners to God & of saluation, 1. Cor. 5. 4. 5; Math. 18. 15./*

*Answer Of regaining, not properlie of gainyng, for excomunication bringes not in strangers, but maie recouer some that are out of the waie, so this is a meanes of saluation, but onelie to the inordinate which are not a lawe to themselues, not vnto all. And the want of it is a want (not of all meanes or the onelie meanes) but of a meanes, therefore we maie not ioyne with the Churches in the vse of the other meanes of saluation. Doe you not see? Where anie meanes are wantyng, there we maie hould no fellowship with the Churches. And in conscience haue you all the meanes of salvacyon in your assemblie or those onelye that be simplie necessary? want you nothing? neuer Church but Laodicea wanted nothing. Rev. 3./ Want of anie thing needfull proues a mayme but not a dissolucion of the Churches, & yf you think comunion maie not be held where anye meanes are wantyng, make hast to heauen for noe Church on earth will enterteyne you./

If you replie that this is not onelie a meanes but a necessarye meanes, I answere, It is not simplie necessarye, for then noe man could be saved but he must be excomunicate, nor necessarye to anie but such as be vnrulie & out sitt other meanes, nor absolutelie necessarye to these, beyng possible that without excomunication they maie be recouered & often seene./ Let vs see your 3 reason./

[Mr] * Robinson *It makes the Church Babilon, an habitacion of devills, an hould of euerye foule spiritt & a cage of euerye vncleane & hatefull byrd./ Rev. 18. 2./*

*Answer

The want of excomunication whollye doth vndoubtedlye hazard the puretye of the Churches while the impunetye of some emboldens others to polute themselues; vppon which respect the Appostle commanded the excomunication of the incestious [in] Corinth. Wherefore the want of it must needs be confessed a greyvous maime & the abuse of it no lesse, which God will certeynlie revendg vpon those that stop his waie & serue their owne turnes of his holie ordinances./

But to saie it make the Church Babilon, &c., is an ouerreach of a passionate or vnadvised minde, some men in commendyng or dispraising neuer thinke enough to be spoken, till they haue said to much, yett to proue this fiery assertion you cyte a text, Rev. 18. 2. I marvaile you feare not to prostitute the sacred word of God vnto your desires. Doth Rev. 18. 2 proue that the want of excomunication makes the Church Babilon, &c. Yf not, you haue taken the name of God in vaine, whose word you abuse./

This place speakes not of pollucyon by sinne or sinners as you imagine, but of Babilon's (that is Rome's) punishment & ruine, saying Babilon is false,† &c. And to expresse the horrible dessolacion therof doth vse such phrases, as the prophettes did to expresse the vtter dessolacyon of other places, signifying that it should not be inhabited anie more of men, but of divills, dragons, satyres, vultures, scrich oules, & such other like vncoth (& by the law) vncleane beastes & birds as vse to dwell in solitarye places, where noe man frequenteth. See Isay 13. 20. 21. 22 & cap. 34. 11. 13. 14. 15; Ier. 50. 39. 40; also see Brightman[1] on Revel. 18. 2./

[† In the time present for to showe the certainty of it as is vsed in scripture.]

Secondlye, yf the place had spoken of polucion as it doth not, would it followe that the onelie want of excomunicacyon had beene the cause of it? might not the abuse of it doe as much hurte as the want? Verelie, Rome neuer wanted the power of excomunication but surfetted with it rather, & polluted it self rather by misguiding then by wantyng that keye. Come we therefore to your fourth & last reason, for these three are nought worth./

[1] Thomas Brightman (1562–1607). The work referred to appears to be his *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos, idest Apocalypsis . . . illustrata*, 1609, 2d ed. 1612.

[Mr] * Robinson *It bindes me inevitablie to defile my self in manie grevious sinnes against God in acknowledging them his children by saying Oure Father with them who by their workes are aparantlye yett the children of the devill. Io. 8. 44./*

*Answer If this be true you haue reason to separate, but yf this be false & fantasticall, then your sinne remaines. Let vs therefore examine./

[1.] First, whether it (that is the want of excomunication) bindes you inevitablie to defile your self.

[2.] 2lie, whether those that deserue to be excomunicate be the devill's children & maye be soe reputed.

[3.] 3lie, whether the saying Oure Father with such defiles a man or noe. In all which if it appeare to you that you haue erred, you will (I hope) be readye to reforme your self & giue glorye to God.

Suppose you were defiled with the societye of the devilles children. Is the want of excomunication, thinke you, the onelie cause of their beyng in the Churches? Why maie not the neglect of it as at Corynth, 1. Cor. 5. 2, or abuse as among the Iewes who cast out the children of God, Io. 9, effect the same ill? And are you sure that this power cannott be abused or neglected by the true Churches of God? Or yf it maie, then doe you vnwiselye ascribe that effect to the onelie want of excomunication, which maie arise from the abuse or neglect of that power. Where it is?/

[It seemes Mr George Iohnson thought his brother & Church of Amstredam could and did abuse it grossely by his Discourse of some troubles and excommunications, printed 1603.]

Agayne, do you imagine that excomunication castes all the devill's children out of God's Church, where it is rightlie vsed? What hipocrites and all? Or are hipocrites none of the devilles children? Yf neyther of both, then the best vse of excomunication never assures vs the eiection of all the devilles children. And then it is absurd to saie that the want therof byndes you to pollucyon in respect of the presence of the devill's children with whome you must be present as long as there be anie hipocrites in the Church, whether excomunication be wanting or noe./

Secondlie, you take it that all such grosse offenders as ought to be excomunicate are apparantlie the devill's children. You meane not onelie in deed so, but in sight soe, which is a damnable opinion & (if you sticke to it) an heresie./

For you take it as yf excomunication were not of anie other vse

then to cast the devill's children out of God's Church. Think you Mr Iohnson tooke his father & brother to be the devill's children when he did excomunicate them? Verely, methinkes his harte should ake to haue professed that opinion of them./ But what euer he & you thinke, surelie Paule thought not so of excomunication, but that it was sometimes a medecyne to recouer the children of God out of their sinnes & to make others take heed, 1. Cor. 5. 5; who also bids the Thessalonians to admonish him as a brother whome they might not conuers with familiarly, & forbids them to count him as an enemye. Yf they must count him not an enemye but a brother, then not a childe of the devill but a child of God, though separated for his punishment from the familer societie of the saintes, as good Miriam was from the congregacion of God. Numb. 12.

[2. Thess. 3. 14 & 15 compared with 1. Cor. 9. 10. 11.]

Knowes not Mr Robinson that the deare saintes of God maie not onelie fall into but possibly lie in some grosse sinne which maie deserue excomunication, who yett neuer become the children of the devill? Verelie, God maie make you knowe to your cost, as he hath done other of his poore seruantes, & comonlie doth those that knowe not howe to restore such as are fallen with the spirit of meeknes, considering them selues least they also be tempted, whose pride is comonlie curde with poison./

[Gal. 6. 1.]

But you thinke Io. 8. 44 will warrant you to take those that stand in anie notorious sinne to be the children of the devill, because Christ so calleth certeyne of the Iewes. And are you as Christ, whose eyes [a] are as a flame of fire; who needed [b] not that anie should tell him what was in man; who came with a [c] fanne in his hand, that Iohn Baptist had not; who knewe from the beginning [d] who should betraie him & that one of the twelue was a devill./

[a Reuel. 1. 14.]
[b Ioh. 2. 25.]
[c Math. 3. 12.]
[d Ioh. 6. 64 et 70.]

Or haue you that discerning spiritt of Peter to finde out Ananias [a] in the darke & Simon [b] Magus his hearte, or of Paule to knowe Elimas [c] to be the child of the devill & accordinglie to censure & to smite? If not, rise vp and kisse that throne of iudgment with blessing, vnto which you haue so vnadvisedlie sitt downe & doe not dare (for you are a man & a sinner) to imitate our Lord in that which he did as God † or his Appostles, in that which the imediate spiritt of God did in them or directed them to doe./

[a Act. 5.]
[b Act. 8.]
[c Act. 13. 10.]

[† See Augustine vpon that place of Io. 8.]

It maie be obiected that Christ giues such a reason as by which anie man maie iudge of others, when he saies they are of the devill, because his workes they doe. I answere that Christ spake not simplie of euerye evill worke, nor meanes that euerye worke of the devill in anie man's hand is a note of the devilles childe, for then euerye sinne open or secrete must be a marke of a childe of the devill, seeing euerye sinne originallye is the devilles worke, & then I praie you, where will you finde a childe of God ?

[* Verses 37, 40, 42, 43, 44.]

But Christe here spake speciallye of one kinde of worke, that is, their resistance of him the sonne of God & Saviour sent vnto them, & that with an hatefull & murtherous mynde, wherein they resembled Satan in his two prime qualities, lying & murther. Nowe, yf you thinke anie outward vnrighteousnes maie be as sure a marke of the devill's children as a wilfull resistance of the Gospell, you are wonderfullie wide./

It maie be instanced, that Christ speakes generallie of sinne, verse 34. He that committeth sinne is the seruant of it, and therefore that when anie man liues in anie knowen sinne we maie iudge him the childe of the devill. I answere first, that yf Christ by sinne (so called in generall) meanes not that particuler kinde which he after expresseth, as it seemes he doth, yett is it not truelie to be inferred that euerie man is the child of the devill, that is at all imbondaged in some sinne, as Paules complainte, Ro. 7. 23, manifesteth, but onlie such as are merelie subiected theretoe. Nowe there is a greate difference betwixt a seruant of God taken prisoner & one that hath submitted himself vnto the enemie, yett are bothe in some bondage, for ignorance, custome of tyme or people, passion, infirmities, & such other occasions maie possiblie hould a child of God vnder some open sinne, as were the holie patriarkes in poligamie, Asa & others in the suffrance of high places, &c. So then it is not euerye committing or lyving in sinne that argues a man to be simplie a seruant of sinne, but (as Paul † sayth) the comitting of a man's self vnto sinne to obey it, or beyng ouercome of it, 2. Peter 2. 19, which our Savior & St Iohn call (in a specyall sense) the doynge of sinne. And howe it is that Christ sayth of these Iewes, You are of your father the devill, for his lustes will ye doe, verse 44; marke you *his lustes*

[† Rom. 6. 16. 1. Ioh. 3. 8. See Zanchi of this point.]

to showe that they gaue themselues ouer to the devilles pleasure to be ledd at his will, & *will yee doe* to note in them a desperate resolucyon not to doe other wise, which resolucyon, seing no man can knowe vnles he knowes the heart as Christ did, no man maie dare nor can (without more then pharisaicall pride) affyrme of anie man professing the fayth of Christ that he is the child of the devill; for vnles it be in that case of sinne against the holie Ghost which is hard to be iudged & vnpossible to be cured, the Church cannott iudge anie man to be anathema maranatha, or the child of the devill, which sinne is not anie particuler vnrighteousnes, but an apostacye from the fayth of Christe after a man hathe beene convinced thereof in his conscyence, & tasted the good word of God, &c. Heb. 6. 4. 5./

Howe it is that the Appostle Paule doth admitt that greater excomunication, 1. Cor. 16. 22, in this onelie case of not louyng the Lord Iesus, which is not easilie knowne, & St. Iohn, 1. Epis. 5. 16. & 17, doth not only distinguish the sinne vnto death from all particuler kindes of vnrighteousnes, in saying (all vnrighteousnes is sinne, but there is a sinne not vnto death), but doth also teach that a man (professing the fayth) is to be held a brother & to be prayed for as a brother in anie sinne saue that which is vnto death, in which prayers are in vayne because it is vnpossible for such an one to be renewed by repentance./ Therefore, you haue vtterlie mistaken your ground of Io. 8. 44, while from thence you thinke it lawfull for vs who cannott descerne as Christe did the finall obstinacye of men, to iudge euery man a childe of the devill, not onelie in case of resisting the truth of which he spake, but in personall transgressions of which he spake not, or not simplie, but with respecte of meere vassalage theretoe./

[Vide Iunius: Disputationes de disciplina ecclesiastica, preside Iunio, 1600, to alter Thes. 17.]

[Hebr. 6. 10. 10. 26.]

If it be demaunded to what end then the scripture tells vs that no vnrighteous person shall inherit the kingdome of God, &c., I answere, first, that all such places must be vnderstood of finall perseuerance therin, els men once fallen can neuer be recouered, & secondlie that these are necessarye admonishmentes to euerye man that he might looke into his owne hearte in secrete, not rules whereby we (that cannott knowe with what ignorance or remorse a man possesses his sinne) should sett the sentence of condempnacion vpon others, for what art thou that iudgest an

other man's seruant ? And why forgett we that the humble publican went awaie iustified rather then the proud pharesie./

[Rom. 14. Luke 18. Math. 18.] If it should yet be obiected in mayntenance of your censorious conceyte, that Christ biddeth vs hould him as a publican or an heathen which should not heare the Church, & that therefore in other cases then that sinne against the holie Ghost we maie lawfullye iudge incorrigable sinners to be the children of the devill, I answere, first, that this is after all admonition, and euen the Churches censure is dispised & therefore to your case could bring noe releife, in as much as you hould that noe man in the English Churches hath yet outsitt that last admonition of the Church, which is in your opinion wholie wantyng./

And secondlie, I answere that Christ doth nott allowe in that case to hould men the children of the devill, but onelie to forbeare all priuate & familiar conuersacion with them (except in reserued cases, as of husband & wife, &c.), as they did of heathens & of publicans with whome the Iewes held it vnlawfull to eate & drinke. For yf you think Christe allowed them to iudge all publicanes to be the children of the devill, you forgett the parable of the publicane, Luke 18, & howe the pharesies are condemned for condemning them to much./

I conclude, therefore, that though you maie see such faultes in men as doe deserue excomunication, yett vnles in that rare case of a sinne vnto death you neyther can, nor maie iudge anie man adioyned to the Church a childe of the devill; yett doubt I nott but the devill maie haue some children in St Andrewes of Norwich as well as in your assemblies at Leyden and Amsterdam./

So then, neyther doth excomunication cast all the devilles children out of God's Church, neyther are they all the devill's apparent children which are worthelie excomunicated or deserue soe to bee. Nowe lett vs come to your 3 principle included in the same proposicion & see whether saying Oure Father with such as be notorious sinners defile a Christian./

You meane not that the verie saying of those wordes Oure Father, &c., shall defile you, although to vse that prayer of Christe as a prayer is held among you a pollucyon (nowe they are deyntilie pure whome such praiers as this polutes), but it is not saying those words, but in that you father the devill's children

vpon God by calling God their and your owne Father in common. And what saie you then to your owne assemblie or Mr Iohnson's? Are you sure there is not one childe of the devill, not one Iudas, not one hipocrite amonge them all? Dare you saie it vpon your conscyence? I knowe you dare nott. And are you defiled with all the sinnes of all those hipocrites whome you father vpon God in saying Our Father? Noe forsooth, whye not? Because they are hipocrites & you knowe them not. O, they are the devill's children, but because you know it not, you maie saie God is their Father. Why then, belike it is not the fathering of the devill's children vpon God that defiles you but your knowledg of it, for yf it were the thing it self, it must defile, whether you knewe it or not, as a pestilentiall ayre infectes a man whether he knowe it to be pestilentiall or knowe it not./

On the other side, belike you knowe that an open offendor is the childe of the devill. Are you sure of that, Mr Robinson? Knowe you not that manie of God's children committ open offences & some of the devill's doe not? But there is appeareance. Appeareance? What? that a sinnefull Christian is noe Christian, or that he is a sicke Christian? If he be noe Christyan but a childe of Satan, why admonish you him? If he be a dead man, not a leper, why exclude you him? Why rather doe you not bury him?/

But yf you cannot knowe by anie particuler sinne (except that against the holie Ghoste), that anie man professing the fayth is the childe of the devill (as hath beene showed), then shall you be noe more polluted by calling God the Father of an open sinner then of a secrete hipocrite. Wherefore, yf you will keepe your rule, you must neuer saie Our Father till you come in heauen, where you maie be sure to haue none but God's true children to beare you companie./

But what yf open sinners be God's true children & you will not call God Father with them, are you not polluted? It is not all one to denie those that are his, as to affirme those that are not his, to be his children, as it is to iustifie the wicked & condemne the innocent? [Prouer. 18.]

And yf you feare to call God their Father because it is doubtfull, why feare you not to denie it beyng doubtfull, for your soule dare [This distinction their owne Mr

Clifton flyes to, page 196, who also affirmes the Iewes to haue bene a holy people of God, not in respect of personall sanctity, but of the externall couenant made with their fathers, page 24 & 25 et page 80.]

not saie directlie they are the devill's, or yf you dare, you haue a venterous soule./

Finallie, lett me open to you your mistakeyng, & be not ashamed to learne of him that would be glad to learne of you. You forgett that God's children are soe and soe called eyther in respect of their true estate of his adoption in Christe (which is proper onelie to his electe, his secrete ones), or in respecte of that profession of covenant with God which they make. Or yf you forgett not that, you forgett this, viz., that all oure iudgment in ordinarye is by that which is professed, where it becomes vs to acknowledg and call those the children of God, whether hipocrites or open offendores, which haue receyued & reteyne the visible cognizance of God's holie covenante [?] & worship with his saintes./

[Rom. 9. 4.] [6 Act. 2. 38.]

And in this respect Paule is not affraid to saie that the adoption did belong (generallie) to the Iewes; & St Peter, that to them & to their seed belonged the promises; and the prophets often euen of the transgressing generacyons, that theise yet were the Lord's people, as Isay particulerlie in their name sayth to God, Thou art our Father, though Abraham knowe vs not, why hast thou caused vs to erre, &c. Yea, God himself doth ordinarilye call them (in respect of his covenant) his people, his inheritance, even when he complaines of them and threatens to cast them of, as they (in poynt of disobedience) had done him./ And will you still feare least that should pollute you which polluted not the holie Appostles & prophettes, nor the holie Maiestie it self? Take heed, Mr Robinson, be not iust ouermuch,† the feare of God deliuers from that alsoe./

[Isay 63. 16. 17. Isay 1. 3 and 5. 7. et Ier. 23. 2. Thess. 4. 6. Ezech. 16. 20. 21, &c.]

[† Eccle. 7. 18. 20.]

It is a note eyther of a seared conscyence or of great ignorance, when a man shrinkes at euery thing as much as at anie thing without difference, but in you I perswade me it is but mistakeing, which I praie God you maie be willing to discouer & reforme./

It restes then, first, that excomunication castes not all the devill's children out of God's Church; secondlie, that all which it doth or should cast oute are not the devill's children; and thirdlie, that noe man is defiled by saying Our Father with those which will ioyne with him in the true worship of God; and consequentlie, that therefore the want of excomunication in St. Andrewes byndes noe man inevitablye to defile himselfe as you pretended./

And thus much to your foure argumentes brought to proue your first proposition, that where excomunication is wanting, a man maie haue no communion. Nowe come we to your assumption./

But St Andrewes Church wantes this power.

This you onlye affirme, & this I denie, for that excomunication or discomuning of offensiue members by forbearing conuersacyon with them, which the Appostle commends to the Churches, 1. Cor. 5. 11, 2. Thes. 3. 14, is in the power of St. Andrewes Church, and yf they practize it not, is their owne faulte & shame./

Secondlie, that which we call the lesser excomunication or suspension from the Lord's table is in the hand of the minister as the Churches watchman & officer in that behalf, to be exercised on anie ignorant person or notorious sinner./ [2.]

Thirdlie, concerning the greater excomunication, although it be committed as touching the sentence to the Bishop & his assistantes, yett doe the lawes sett downe the generall causes, & the parishioners by their officers make presentacion of such offences as deserue it. The horrible abuses committed in the cariage of this I meane not to excuse, but the constitucion it self is nothing soe ill./ [3.]

Wherefore, it cannott be said that St Andrewes parish simplie wantes the power of excomunication so long as it hath part of it in her owne hand, the rest in the hand of her feofees of trust or committies, who yf they had care & zeale of God in them to ymproue their power to the best, might purge the Churches of so much drosse as neyther you should be scandalized & put into schisme, nor others perhaps wish, as they doe, to see a change of that order./

If you replie that in none of these the Church hath power of excommunication in such sorte as it ought, I answere that yet it maie not be simplie denied to haue that power at all, no more then we maie be denied to haue anie grace of the Spiritt because we haue none in manner or measure as we ought./

And finallie, I praie you to consider how excommunicacion is caried in the other Churches, euen those of the separation, & then remember that he that seekes perfection in the Churches on earth eyther in constitucion or in execution maie finde some [Read Mr George Iohnson's booke & Mr Brownes, & you shall neede noe more.]

nearer it then others, but none in it, & so noe more rest for his foote then the doue out of the arke./

Thus haue I finished a longe answere, beyng desirous yf God will to gyue you satisfaction & vnwilling to interupt my other occasions with anie second returnes./ I will not end as you did with the name of the devill, beyng (perhaps) loth to salute me (which is an vnmannerlye fashion of sundrie of your side), but I hartelie commend you to the Lord God of mercye & truth, & beseech him to open your eyes that you maie see your errors made, & to giue you a true humble spiritt that you maie not be ashamed to become wise, and a worthye resolucyon to giue God glorye in returning & causing those poore soules that depend vpon your lippes to returne, that you maie finde peace in the end which in this course I am perswaded you cannott./ And thus praying you to passe by anie escapes of the writer with loue, & to beleiue that I loue your person for the Lord Christ his sake whose wandring seruant I still esteeme you, I end & rest

Your fellow seruant & loving freind, desirous to embrace you in the fellowship of the Churches of Christ. I was willing inough in sundry respectes to haue lett this answere alone after I had finished it, but that I heard on euery side of great bragges cast out as yf I could not haue answered it, which made me send it to you that I might not be guiltie of hardening them in their sinne, whose error I do much bewayle. Farewell./

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